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DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature of any degree. This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

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ABSTRACT

The thesis "The impact of the Industrial Revolution on women's lives" deals with the subject of if, and (if yes) how women's lives were influenced by the Industrial Revolution.

In order to discuss this topic, questions about the way of life during the proto-industrial period are asked for the purpose of providing an introduction and an access to the topic. The main part of the thesis, however, focuses on "role models", "women's contribution to family income" and "health and education - two aspects of everyday life" during the Industrial Revolution

Although industrialisation is often considered to be a sudden event, it was a long term process and the same can be said about the impact of the Industrial Revolution on women's lives. The many changes which occurred, did not affect women from one day to another, but they could be recognised in the course of time. A greater number of jobs were available, new educational institutions opened their doors for girls and also the public opinion about the position of women in society changed over the years.

The problem in interpreting this topic is the fact that the developments cannot be commented in a linear way. Many different influences affected women, and furthermore, caused a variety of changes in their lives. Moreover, the limited access to sources (e.g. censuses were not always significant, as just the male head of the family was quoted) complicated the research work.

Nevertheless, the thesis summarises the various scientific results and draws its own conclusion on the basis of latest literature.

1. INTRODUCTION

The situation of women in society throughout history has been explained in different ways. Although in many illustrations women's position during the Industrial Revolution was, for example, described as subordinated and inferior, this was probably not the case. This thesis explains the complexity of the environment women lived in and concretises the argument that women were not always repressed, furthermore, could use the new possibilities which were arising (e.g. employment) during this period. Nevertheless, womanhood is a very comprehensive topic and research about it often provides complex results as a variety of influences affected females.

Thus*, while women affect the character of change as active participants, as workers, mothers, wives, daughters and consumers, their experience is also shaped by the nature of change*.[1] The attitude towards women, therefore, was constructed by different opinions and views. However, research has been trying to make a connection between the Industrial Revolution and their influence on women's lives over the last decades. Although this topic has been given much attention to for such a long time it is still a popular subject.[2] This might result from the fact that so many impacting changes affected women's lives during this period, and so a variety of interpretations can be made, as well as being able to draw diverse conclusions. Moreover, the discussion as to whether the Industrial Revolution improved or worsened the situation of females can be argued and interpreted in contrasting ways. These numerous facets made and still make it interesting to analyse this field of research.

The thesis "The impact of the Industrial Revolution on women's lives", which provides information about the situation of women during the Industrial Revolution and highlights different parts of their lives, is subdivided in seven chapters. To answer the question about the consequences on everyday life, existing role models and the new possibility to perform gainful employment, latest literature was consulted.

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[1] Deborah Simonton, A history of European women's work. 1700 to the Present, New York 1998, pp. 1-9.
[2] Deborah Simonton, A history of European women's work. 1700 to the Present, New York 1998, pp. 1-9.

The thesis wants to present different parts of women's lives and proof that the influences which affected them, did not necessarily lead to negative after-effects. Furthermore, it shows that women handled the new situation in different ways depending on their living circumstances and needs.

However, chapter 2 and 3 focus on a general overview about the period discussed. Therefore, chapter 2, "Proto-industrial Period", informs about the preconditions of the Industrial Revolution. Thus, it focuses on theories about this period and the position of women therein. Jan de Vries, moreover, gives a new perspective which puts the worker in the centre of his thesis. In his point of view, the increasing supply and a new possibility to buy products made the people work more, as they wanted to keep a certain living standard and buy certain goods. These ongoing developments, an industrious revolution, formed a first step into the Industrial Revolution. It is true to say that women were also affected by these changes, as they had the need and also the unprecedented opportunity to perform work in new fields of employment.

Chapter 3 focuses on the Industrial Revolution in general. Therefore, the interpretations changed during the last decades and have definitely been affected whether analysis focused upon technological change, economic growth, organisational innovation, development of markets, demography, urban growth, class formation, or whatever. The interpretations about this period of time, however, varied dramatically. While some historians saw the Industrial Revolution as a large-scale structural change in economy and this constituted a complete shift in the process of economic growth, others described it as an event which happened in special regions at a specific intensity and affected just a certain part of the population. Although the Industrial Revolution was interpreted in different ways, the changes which were occurring were probably less dramatic than once thought; at the very least they took place gradually over an extended period.

Chapter 4 concentrates on the paid employment of women and if this new form of occupation helped only to support family income or if it also can be seen as a way to become more independent. Therefore, classic texts often assumed that the Industrial Revolution just created new job opportunities for women and children. Anyway, this question confronted me with the problem of insufficient information about the working

activity of women. Censuses, which are supposed to give comprehensive information about jobs, mostly just focus on the (male) head of the family. So, it is difficult to draw a conclusion. Furthermore, the discussion about the wage gap between men and women was quite multifaceted and left questions open.

Chapter 5 focuses on “role models” during this time. Women were seen in a certain light during the Industrial Revolution. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the stereotype of a female was represented by the middle-class women. However, different movements occurred, which gave them a platform for presenting their concerns; trade unions for example fought for better working conditions (e.g. through demonstrations).

Chapter 6 “Everyday Life” represents the last part of the discussion about the impact of the Industrial Revolution on women’s lives. It focuses on education and health and how these aspects of females’ lives were altered by industrialisation. “Education”, therefore, provided a lack of information as girl’s educational past in research is a complex area of investigation, and most historians offered just little original research about this topic and tended to provide just general overviews. Furthermore, educational institutions just started to open their doors for girls during this period of time. However, the chapter informs about the connection of school education and getting a better job.
The next part of this chapter covers the topic “health”. Due to the changing situation during the Industrial Revolution, for example a new working world in factories, urban growth and so on, a discussion of optimists and pessimist started if the living standards and in this case the health standards rose or fall during this time. Therefore, the pessimistic view of for example bad hygienic circumstances, urban filth, spread of diseases and new sources of danger in factories as insecure machines, seemed to prevail. Anyway, the chapter also provides positive aspects which suggest that although these developments might have occurred slowly they changed the situation for the better.

The last chapter no. 7 summarises the results to get a comprehensive overview and draws a conclusion.

To answer the asked questions about the impact of the Industrial Revolution on women's lives, literature from all periods which covers the topic was consulted. This shall help in turn to understand the changes occurring in historiography.

However, the latest scientific research was especially supportive in order to draw a conclusion. Although censuses are difficult to interpret, they at least made it easier to get an idea of fields of employment and the contribution of females to family income. Nonetheless, this topic has been studied in science for centuries, the variety of influences and all the different aspects which affected women during this time can be discussed and questioned in any number of ways. Furthermore, new scientific methods and ways to draw conclusions, for example the awareness that circumstances of employment influenced quality of life, provide not only important information but also a new understanding of this period.

2. PROTO-INDUSTRIAL PERIOD

In order to discuss the impact of the Industrial Revolution on women's lives, it is important to specify the preconditions of this period.

Therefore, a short overview of proto-industrial theories shall be given to provide information about the research and debates around this topic. In this context, the living and employment conditions of women in this period will be discussed. Women have always performed work throughout history; there is nothing new about it, but science dealt with this subject in different ways. When fields like "Alltagsgeschichte" (everyday history), gender history and "Geschichte von unten" (history from below) arose during the second half of twentieth century, traditional historiography underwent a change. In historiography, domestic work, raising children, education and so on was not seen as "real and valuable" work and it was often underestimated. Recent research, however, showed that the value of women's work was not only codetermined by expenditure of work but also by moral concepts of society.[3]

However, chapter two "Proto-industrial period", shall not only give a brief theoretical introduction about this topic but also show the various fields women were working in to understand their lives and furthermore their living circumstances. By showing the changes during the centuries it should be easier to understand developments and alterations during the proto-industrial period and to make a connection with the subsequent decades.

2.1. THEORIES OF PROTO-INDUSTRIALISATION

During the 1970s, the term "proto-industry" was coined and put at the centre of a "theory of proto-industrialisation".[4]

The term, which was invented by Franklin Mendels in 1972, became known after the publication of an article based on his research. He saw proto-industrialisation as the first stage of the Industrial Revolution. His point of view was that this period was characterised by a population, which was able to be more independent from the

[3] Birgit Bolognese-Leuchtenmüller und Michael Mitterauer, Frauen-Arbeitswelten. Zur historischen Genese gegenwärtiger Probleme, Wien 1993, pp. 9-11.

[4] Sheilagh Ogilvie, State corporatism and proto-industry. The Württemberg Black Forest 1580-1797, Cambridge 1997, pp.1-2.

agrarian resource base than before, i.e. rural workers were involved in domestic industry to produce products for national and international markets. Labour, which was not used before because of the seasonal nature of agrarian production, could now be utilised. Mendels' theories were taken up by other historians like David Levine, who in his dissertation focussed on two villages in nineteenth-century Leicestershire. He described proto-industrialisation as a period which, in his point of view, was a precondition for capitalism and industrialisation. This theory resulted in outpouring research into regions of domestic industry throughout Europe.[5]

In 1977 Peter Kriedte, Hans Medick and Jürgen Schlumbohm published the book *Industrialisierung vor der Industrialisierung. Gewerbliche Warenproduktion auf dem Land in der Formationsperiode des Kapitalismus* (English edition: Industrialisation before Industrialisation, 2, 1981), wherein they combined the results of Mendels and Levine with former literature on the subject of domestic industry. They transformed the theory of proto-industrialisation into a model of social and economic change between the medieval period and the nineteenth century. In their point of view, proto-industrialisation can be described as an industrialisation before industrialisation, characterised by a development of rural regions, where a large part of population lived to a certain extent on commercial mass production for national and international markets.[6]

Theories of Kriedte, Medick and Schlumbohm, were often criticised. Their theses were described as *a mistaken view of the structure and functioning of the traditional societies out of which proto-industrialisation is supposed to have developed.*[7] The critique was against their view regarding the preconditions for the dissolution of feudalism during the transition to capitalism and their understanding of an agrarian society.[8] Markus Cerman and Sheilagh Ogilvie argued that Kriedte's, Medicks' and Schlumbohm's concept offered two different points of views of proto-industrialisation. Kriedte and Medick were writing about the proto-industrialisation as "system concept", which unified the elements of production of feudalism and capitalism. However, Schlumbohm explains the proto-industrial period as a stage, which unified

[5] Sheilagh Ogilvie und Markus Cerman (eds.), European proto-industrialisation, Cambridge 1996, pp. 2-5.
[6] Ogilvie/Cerman, Protoindustrialisierung in Europa. Industrielle Produktion vor dem Fabrikszeitalter, Wien 1994, p. 10.
[7] Ogilvie/Cerman, European proto-industrialisation, 1994, pp. 7-10.
[8] Ogilvie/Cerman, European proto-industrialisation, 1994, pp. 7-10.

elements of production of feudalism and capitalism, but for him proto-industrialisation was not a separate “system” but a part of feudal production.[9] According to Jürgen Schlumbohm the term proto-industrialisation in research was to overcome barriers between economic and social history and connect industrial and agrarian history and furthermore the historical demography and the history of family and household matters. Proto-industrialisation had to be analysed in an interdisciplinary way. The various empirical research projects which were carried out in order to analyse the demography showed that it was not possible to use just one perspective and an initial point to explain proto-industrial-society, furthermore, it was necessary to consider different factors to explain these developments.[10] The concept of proto-industrialisation changed after 1977 into many theories with various definitions, which differed in their basic aspects.[11]

According to Markus Cerman and Sheilagh C. Oglivie, between 1500 and 1800 nearly every part of Europe witnessed a growth of export-oriented dispersed manufacturing. These developments varied in different regions, in the Low Country for example, they could already be observed before 1500 in individual regions, but in most parts of Europe the changes occurred during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Textile proto-industries dominated the picture but also mining, metal processing and export-oriented industries in glass, wood and clay spread. These developments were often seen as a feature of the early modern European economy.[12]

2.1.1. Industrious Revolution

A new aspect of the proto-industrial period was recently provided by Jan de Vries. He examined how the activation and evolution of consumer demand shaped the course of economic development. He puts consumer behaviour in the context of household economy. De Vries used the term “Industrious Revolution” to name an economic framework in which he tried to interpret household decisions. He argued that in a

[9] Ogilvie/Cerman, Protoindustrialisierung, 1994, p. 10-14.
[10] Jürgen Schlumbohm, Proto-Industrialisierung als Forschungsstrategisches Konzept und als Epochenbegriff – eine Zwischenbilanz, In: Sheilagh Ogilvie und Markus Cerman (eds.), Protoindustrialisierung in Europa. Industrielle Produktion vor dem Fabrikszeitalter, Wien 1994, pp. 25-28.
[11] Ogilvie/Cerman, Protoindustrialisierung in Europa, 1994, p. 10-14.
[12] Sheilagh Ogilvie, State corporatism, 1997, pp.1-2.

specific historical period between 1650 and 1850 and a specific geographical zone, a new form of household economic behaviour arose.[13] He described the household (usually family or with family at its core) and the terms of interaction between the household and the market economy as the most important facts to explain.[14]

De Vries mentioned the division of labour not only as a matter of organisation of work or a macroeconomic phenomenon, which increased the level of outputs. The division of labour could also be linked to the rise of household production sold to others and the household consumption purchased from others. He thinks that agricultural specialisation, proto-industrial production, wage labour and commercial service were important influences that households became more and more market depended.[15]

Studies on the annual working year generally came to the agreement that it was lengthened by 20 to 25 percent between 1760 and 1830 in Britain. De Vries focussed on the question of motivation for the increased labour supply. His point of view was that it is possible that necessity and opportunity acted to intensify labour. The need for money forced people to work and new emerging working opportunities gave the people the possibility to perform more market-oriented jobs and earn more money. Nevertheless, when wages or prices declined, people did not give up their business. Quite the contrary, they have seen a "necessity" to intensify their work effort to maintain their living standard. The Industrial Revolution, with all the new technologies and organisational forms we know, did not occur suddenly; it required many decades of maturation before they could affect economic growth. Therefore the new work opportunities were an important factor in redeploying the household's productive resources to secure new consumption goals.[16]

According to de Vries, already during the seventeenth in century north-western Europe wage labour was the most important source of income. A large and growing proportion of workers without land depended on wages. Furthermore, observations showed that the major cities of north-western Europe enjoyed a substantially higher real income than those in Southern, Central and Eastern Europe, and this gap grew

[13] Jan de Vries, The Industrious Revolution. Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present, New York 2008, Preface and Acknowledgments.
[14] De Vries, Industrious Revolution, 2008, p. 10.
[15] De Vries, Industrious Revolution, 2008, pp. 71-72.
[16] De Vries, Industrious Revolution, 2008, pp. 113-121.

between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Therefore, pessimists and optimists alike debated living standards during this time, wherein the former thought that a higher production and productivity could have improved the contemporaries' living standards, the latter on the other hand argued that exploitation during this time was extremely harsh and thus workers must have been worse off. These debates became more prevalent and are still unresolved.[17]

As mentioned previously the working year lengthened between 1760 and 1830 in Britain. However, early modern Europe used the Christian calendar which excluded Sunday as a working day as well as various Holy days, varying by region. From the sixteenth century onwards, these free days came under attack especially by the Protestant Reformists. Edicts of synods, archbishops and monarchs enabled an expansion of the working year by more than 20 percent. This change provided on the one hand more working days, but on the other hand did not guarantee an increase in work effort.[18]

Yet the supply of market oriented labour rose, especially that of women and children. De Vries argued that they contributed significantly to household income and were heavily engaged in the labour market. The wellbeing of the family depended on the support of multiple wage earners. Consumer behaviour of households became of particular importance to any assessment of the household as an economic unit.[19] The proto-industry as a household-based production of manufacturers gave new opportunities to women in particular. Some historians were even talking about the "golden age" of women's work. Family members were working side by side and the family then can be seen as a single working unit without an oppressive division of labour. This pre-capitalistic world was the result of such cooperation before working and living areas were separated step by step.[20]

This complex of changes in household behaviour constituted an "industrious revolution", a consumption-driven commercial phenomenon that preceded and prepared the way for the Industrial Revolution, which was driven by technology and

[17] De Vries, Industrious Revolution, 2008, pp. 82-86.
[18] De Vries, Industrious Revolution, 2008, pp. 87-89.
[19] De Vries, Industrious Revolution, 2008, pp. 109.
[20] De Vries, Industrious Revolution, 2008, pp. 96-104.

changes in organisation.[21] According to de Vries the *consumer demand developed through an interaction of market and household productive systems. The interaction of household members with an expanded range off goods, and more numerous venues for purchase and consumption, led to the more frequent exercise of individuated choice. Experiences and exposure led to an accumulation of consumption capital, consolidating in time the practices of consumption recognizable to us today*.[22] By the beginning of the Industrious Revolution consumer demand increased. In de Vries' point of view it was a new consumption regime, which arose by the second half of the eighteenth century, furthermore, this regime was not uniform across social classes.[23]

However, the demand-driven "Industrious Revolution" took place all over Europe between 1500 and 1800 and it was intensified by the supply of female and child labour. De Vries argued that many consumers were females and furthermore their demand differed clearly from male demand. Moreover, women's work was key to economic development as well as the combination of manufacturing and agriculture.[24] Although the situation of work changed during the proto-industrial period, the traditional way of work was still family employment at home and the combination of agricultural and industrial tasks, hence, typical female employment was seen in domestic sphere.[25]

Jan de Vries provided another perspective on this topic with his theory about an Industrious Revolution. Labour force and working hours changed during this time. A higher number of workers were needed and it was possible to work a higher amount of hours. Hence, people had the chance to work, but even more important they used this chance to earn money and keep their living standards. However, de Vries demonstrated that neither an "emerging capitalism" in general nor the British Industrial Revolution in particular altered the basic patterns of women's engagement with market-oriented labour.

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[21] De Vries, Industrious Revolution, 2008, pp. 71-72.
[22] De Vries, Industrious Revolution, 2008, pp. 122-123.
[23] De Vries, Industrious Revolution, 2008, pp. 177-178.
[24] Pamela Sharpe, Continuity and Change: Women's History and Economic History in Britain, In: The Economic History Review, New Series, Vol. 48, No. 2 (May, 1995), pp. 358.
[25] Lecture 07.02.2008, Dr. Louise Miskell: Europe of Extremes, The Industrial Revolution and the Experience of Work: http://blackboard.swan.ac.uk/webapps/portal/frameset.jsp?tab_id=_2_1&url=per cent2fwebappsper cent2fblackboardper cent2fexecuteper cent2flauncherper cent3ftypeper cent3dCourseper cent26idper cent3d_11146_1per cent26urlper cent3d accessed on the 28.10.2008

But over time, new opportunities arose in some sectors and were closed off in others. But the efforts to measure women's rates of labour force participation in the first half of the nineteenth century showed them to be higher than they would ever be again until recent decades. Proto-industry, whatever else it might have been, was first and foremost a form of labour intensification, a strategy of the industrious household. Therefore especially the garment-making sectors offered new opportunities for industrious labour, particular for women.[26]

However, it can be said that married women were heavily engaged in market work and that early industrialisation appeared to have intensified this engagement. Children and women were substitutes to form the perspective of the family economy and would remain so until compulsory schooling began to remove children from the paid labour force. The lifecycle earnings for working-class households peaked as grown children became numerous and so long as they remained in the households. Hence, family depended on the income of multiple individuals. [27]

Nevertheless, de Vries is predominately talking about people who worked to keep their living standards, but not about those who were forced to work for their survival. This could be caused, for example, by the fact that many people only had farms and could not survive from the income of their property. Therefore, they had to perform work for others and also abide by their rules. It is therefore so that people did not just work to participate in the new market they also had other reasons for integrating in this new system. This could be a further factor to be considered in the industrious revolution to show also another perspective and the variety of reasons why people worked in this "new" labour market.

2.2. WORK DURING THE PROTO-INDUSTRIAL PERIOD

In the chapter "Work during proto-industrial period" the living circumstances of women and the work they performed during the proto-industrial period will be discussed. This should give an insight in women's lives and how every day work-life

[26] De Vries, Industrious Revolution, 2008, pp. 102-104.
[27] De Vries, Industrious Revolution, 2008, pp. 109-110.

was formed during this period. Thus, similarities and changes between the proto-industrial period and the Industrial Revolution should be easier to recognise.

According to Sigrid Kretschmer, work during the proto-industrial period was primarily focused on the "family economy". Domestic activities were carried out by the mothers, fathers, children, relatives and domestic servants. The living and working area was one unit and all activities were performed in this space. At the end of the eighteenth century, the tendency to separate the working and domestic area began to take hold. Through the steady rise of industrialisation and a simultaneous centralisation of work, these basic changes increased.[28]

Deborah Simonton described household tasks as an important factor in order to understand women's work, as they had a specific value to society and were a major part of their activities. The "family wage" was linked to the visible work of men; however, the work of women in households became more and more invisible. This was a major change to the previous work they carried out, when the household was run by the family as a whole and was characterised by a high degree of collaboration and co-operation between its members. Another development which should be considered was the change of household activities, and as such childcare, food preparation, cleaning and all the other household tasks were transformed in context, i.e. scale and duration. The household became associated with status. At the end of the eighteenth century, the so called "Hausmütterliteratur" came about. These handbooks on etiquette provided information on how to behave within the family and society. This expanding branch of literature reflected the situation, the attitudes and the moral concepts which dominated (at least) parts of society. The bourgeoisie created a concept of housework which was supposed to alter women's work. Between 1780 and 1840 the changes were constitutive and showed the transformation of the *Hausmutter*, who worked with her partner presiding over operations of agricultural properties, to the *Hausfrau* or housewife who was the guardian of the private sphere (at least a certain percentage of women).[29]

[28] Sigrid Kretschmer, Wiener Handwerksfrauen. Wirtschafts- und Lebensformen von Frauen im 18. Jahrhundert, Wien 2000, pp.27-33.
[29] Simonton, Women's work, 1998, pp. 91-92.

According to Hans Medick, the history of proto-industrial family economy was embedded in the pre-history of industrial capitalism. The organisation of work changed within the household during proto-industrialisation, hence, a differentiation of professions occurred inside the "Ganzen Hauses" (*whole house*: social, economic and legal unit). There was no separation of women's and men's work in society of small-scale farmers. Nevertheless, men often worked outside the household, as day labourers, and in addition they started careers in the textile proto-industry. Women on the other hand started to work as spinners for commercial markets or tried to raise the output of their own farm. *The important fact was that* commercially active *women were essential to family income* in this new market-oriented world.[30]

Michael Mitterauer argued that a high number of women contributed money to the family income by working outside the family economy. Nevertheless, this gainful employment was linked to the "traditional" housework and therefore difficult to describe and even more difficult to distinguish. Women were in particular employed in jobs which were supposed to be typical and traditional occupations for them, such as weaving, tailoring and baking. Sales and retail trades for example were already dominated by women during the middle ages. Many women were employed in handicraft and sometimes after their husband's death, they operated the business. Lots of them worked in mixed employment, where they performed different tasks, for example housework for other families as well as an additional occupation as a spinner, knitter or embroiderer. Activities like washing, ironing, weaving and knitting offered a further possibility to earn money for many women. A huge number of them worked as domestic servants. According to Michael Mitterauer the number of working women during the proto-industrial period was as high as the number of working men. Tasks, which were fulfilled, were not like work today, it was quite often just seasonal employment, thus, they had only an irregular income to live on and furthermore they had to perform different jobs during the year.[31] Moreover, it is important to distinguish women by age, social status or marital status to analyse their position in the working world. Although it would be desirable to have results for all these different aspects,

[30] Hans Medick, Die proto-industrielle Familienwirtschaft, In: Kriedte, Medick, Schlumbohm, Industrialisierung vor der Industrialisierung. Gewerbliche Warenproduktion auf dem Land in der Formationsperiode des Kapitalismus, Göttingen 1978, pp. 131-134.
[31] Michael Mitterauer, „Als Adam grub und Eva spann…". Geschlechtsspezifische Arbeitsteilung in vorindustrieller Zeit, In: Birgit Bolognese-Leuchtenmüller und Michael Mitterauer (Hg.), Frauenarbeitswelten. Zur historischen Genese gegenwärtiger Probleme, Wien 1993, pp. 26-37.

according to Mitterauer ethnological and socio-historical research only provides information in partial aspects. Despite the participation of women in the working world the evaluation of woman and their work does not depend so much on their contribution to living costs as on moral concepts in society. In other words: In a society dominated by men the actual meaning of female work has little relevance.[32]
According to Mitterauer, woman's work in industrialised societies had a completely different value than in the time when the family economy was predominant. By the separation of the home and the workplace women had access to the public and therefore were less isolated than before. Nevertheless, as already mentioned the "new" position and increased number of female employees did not cause a substantial change in existing moral concepts in a mainly male dominated world.[33]
Authors like Neil McKendrick (1982) argued that the increasing income of women and children in the proto-industrial period boosted family earnings and helped them purchase more products such as textiles, clothing, pottery, cutlery and furniture. Historians noticed the need to understand the different motives women and children had to take up employment.[34]

According to M. Cerman and S. Ogilvie the impact which extra-agricultural rural income would have upon the age of marriage, family size and inter-personal relations differed in areas where a whole family worked as an "independent" household relationship unit of production compared with them where putting-out merchants employed only young female workers on piece rate. Most areas of expanding proto-industry in England were already characterised by dense population and proletarianisation. Thus, the effects of commercial manufacturing on the age of marriage and fertility are difficult to separate from the initial conditions found where proto-industry took root. Live-in service, long apprenticeships and poverty were more important as regulators of marriage. Social and cultural attitudes within the family, social norms and collective discipline in village life often interfered with any straightforward link between the earning capacity of young people and their sexual or social independence. Industrial earnings were no guarantee of social or economic freedom. Frequently, women and children did not earn enough money to live independently; furthermore, income was often seen as vital to the family. Thus, the

[32] Mitterauer, Adam, 1993, pp. 31-39.
[33] Mitterauer, Adam, 1993, pp. 38-39.
[34] Ogilvie/Cerman, European proto-industrialisation, 1994, pp. 53-55.

age of leaving home was, for most of the time at a high level. The work process in different sectors and the gender- and age-specific labour demands of these sectors were likely to have modified the impact of earnings upon family size and intra-family-relationships. The labour market was segmented and so excess demand for female labour did not result in higher female wages. However, there was a possibility for women to get a leading role in special occupations. In England, for example, different areas dominated by a proto-industrial structure of independent family businesses gave widows especially the possibility to take a leading role in various professions. Technological change also abolished long-standing divisions of labour.[35]

During proto-industrialisation in England, a variety of household structures, forms of division of labour and employment relations occurred. These different possibilities had no simple linear development relationship to one another. The Yorkshire worsted sector sometimes involved whole families, but the individual members were often employed for separate processes by different employers. Therefore, women often worked on spinning and men on weaving or combing. In the Midlands and South West, women were mainly engaged in low-wage, labour-intensive domestic industries in households in which men were often underemployed or seasonally employed in agriculture. Sometimes women were sub-contracted via the male head of the household and paid through him; only every now and then did they get their wages directly. Thus, the structures of household employment had different effects.[36]

Most of time employment in the proto-industrial workplaces meant no alternative to “normal” housework, as this work also had to be performed. Therefore, this double burden often needed a lot of energy; nevertheless, it was easier to arrange these jobs, since it would become home-based in the subsequent periods. Spinning, lace-making and other manufacturing work was quite popular in the countryside of England during the nineteenth century as it offered a possibility to work and to keep the house. In proto-industrial dominated regions in Great Britain it was also possible for women to run a business. Hence, market expansion and technological

[35] Ogilvie/Cerman, European proto-industrialisation, 1994, pp. 61-65.
[36] Ogilvie/Cerman, European proto-industrialisation, 1994, pp. 57-58.

innovations must have also given women the chance to perform work which was often dominated just by men.[37]

Within putting-out structures it is difficult to sustain the idea that proto-industrial employment enhanced the status and self-esteem of women or children. Thus, the existence of proto-industry alongside factory forms of manufacturing in the nineteenth century was often specifically associated with women whose conditions and rates of pay in these sweat-laden sectors were notoriously bad.[38]

In Pat Hudson's point of view, proto-industries helped to change the material culture, ideas, moral concepts and every day life. Work, which before was cooking, agricultural work or stock breeding was not the most important activity anymore. To fulfil the demand it was possible to use the market. Therefore, not only the employment was new; also taste in general, food and clothing changed.[39]

The occupation of women in centralised enterprises has a long tradition. Already during the eighteenth century women were placed to work into centralised steps of production. The beginning of industrialisation and increasing use of machines in the textile industry strengthened this tendency between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.[40] Nevertheless, work in the pre-industrial world was home-based, and women were mainly employed in agriculture, domestic manufacturing and household service.[41]

The following chapter will not only show upcoming developments and changes occurring in women's lives during the Industrial Revolution, but also describes processes which remained unchanged.

[37] Pat Hudson, Proto-Industrialisierung in England, In: Cerman/Ogilvie, Protoindustrialisierung in Europa. Industrielle Produktion vor dem Fabrikszeitalter, Wien 1994, p. 74-77.
[38] Ogilvie/Cerman, European proto-industrialisation, 1994, pp. 61-65.
[39] Hudson, Proto-Industrialisierung, 1994, p. 76-77.
[40] Ehmer, Innen macht alles die Frau, pp. 86-91.
[41] L. R. Berlanstein (ed.), The Industrial Revolution and Work in Nineteenth-Century Europe, London 1992, pp. 63-71.

2.3. CONCLUSION

During the 1970s the term “proto-industry” was coined and put at the centre of a “theory of proto-industrialisation” by Franklin Mendels. Kriedte, Medick and Schlumbohm described this period as *Industrialisation before Industrialisation*.

A recent interpretation of the effort of proto-industrialisation however, was provided by Jan de Vries. He argued that throughout the proto-industrial period, more jobs were offered and more and more people worked to keep their living standards in a world which was characterised by specialisation and market commercialisation.
Nevertheless, he described the long eighteenth century of industrious households as substantial continuity, although major changes took place in Europe’s economic, cultural and political life. Furthermore, he mentioned that the basic patterns of women’s work did not alter, but over time new opportunities arose in some sectors and increased the women’s rates of labour force participation. Women gained the possibility to work in new jobs that were available and furthermore earn money. These new chances were used to raise the family income and moreover give the family the chance to buy consumer goods. It was a mixed blessing, as this period offered new possibilities, but also a time of new obligations, which had to be fulfilled. Proto-industry was first and foremost a form of labour intensification. An innovation during this period was that more products were produced for a wider market and new job opportunities arose.

To what extent did the situation change during the proto-industrial period for women? Was there really a “golden age” of female work, as some historians described this period?

According to Pat Hudson, some evidence can be found of more economic independence, as women for example were sometimes entering pubs and ordering beer (this means: they could enter public places, which were normally reserved just for men), but the fact that there was a sexual hierarchy of labour within most proto-industrial trades, processes and household still existed and are difficult to ignore. Women were badly paid most of time, the highest-paid female workers in eighteenth

century England were probably girls who were unmarried and who worked outside of home in workshops and early factories. Although the introduction of technological innovations could have helped to create equal jobs, sexual hierarchy still existed.

The labour force of women was likely more often than not important for family income, patriarchal attitudes were in any case still significant during this period and the female participation in the working world was answered by the growth of the ideal of domesticity and the campaign for the male breadwinner model during the nineteenth century.[42]

[42] Hudson, Industrial Revolution, 1992, pp. 226-232.

3. INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Although the term “Industrial Revolution” implies to be a sudden event, it was in fact a long term development. Charles More mentions the different ways in which historians explained the “revolutionary” changes. Therefore, some historians saw the Industrial Revolution as a large-scale structural change in economy. Hence, the causes were not completely new, but rooted in the past.[43]

However, for other historians the Industrial Revolution constituted a complete shift in the process of economic growth and furthermore this was seen as a “revolutionary” element. Nevertheless, historians tended to explain the developments during the Industrial Revolution in different ways. Some focused on the long-term nature of economic growth in Europe; others on the other hand formulated general propositions about economic growth. According to More, another controversial point represents the dates of the Industrial Revolution. Few historians would go back before 1750, many others prefer later dates such as 1760, because of a number of important inventions which occurred soon afterwards; but also the year 1780 has a number of followers. Yet others pointed out that absolute impact of industrialisation became widespread in the nineteenth century and therefore, this should be considered as the Industrial Revolution.[44]

The Industrial Revolution does not only imply the absolute growth of industry, but the expansion relates to other sectors of economy (agriculture and services) too. According to More, the production increased for industries such as cotton and iron. Also the growth of some services is necessary for industrial growth, such as transport. This increase of services was also linked to a rapid urbanisation, which took place at the same time, and was partly influenced by industrialisation. Finally, a growth of income per capita across the economy arose. More pointed out that these developments were not completely new as urbanism had grown in Western Europe since the medieval period and also the growth of income per capita was not new as there had been such periods of growth in the past. But this growth was associated with a decline in population, which allowed existing resources to be spread among

[43] Charles More, Understanding the Industrial Revolution, London 2000, pp. 1-3.
[44] Charles More, Understanding the Industrial Revolution, London 2000, pp. 1-3.

fewer people. A growth in individual income, while population also rose, was a novel phenomenon. Although the British economy in the nineteenth century was surprisingly unmechanised by today's standards (600,000 workers, men and women, in textile factories, is about 6 per cent of total workforce), nowhere else, at least in Europe, had ever seen the volume of industry and the sizes of urban areas which existed in Britain by 1850. Therefore, it was not a surprise that by the 1840s the phrase "Industrial Revolution" was coming into common use.[45]

While some historians did not see the Industrial Revolution as that radical an event for women, according to Rachel Fuchs and Victoria Thompson European women of all countries and social classes experienced some of the most dramatic and enduring changes in their familial, working and political lives during the nineteenth century. The alterations affected women's lives in different ways. Many left their homes and migrated to cities where they worked as domestic servants and as a part of the growing urban labour force. The rise of compulsory primary education gave more women the chance to leave home and go to school, while the professionalisation of medicine marginalised female midwives. Hence, the changes in economic structure closed off certain employment opportunities in one sector while opening them in others. Fuchs and Thompson describe the changes of women's lives neither as one of constant progress toward greater equality nor one of continual decline into the depths of domesticity or hard labour in industrial factories. Women's lives got better or worse, depending on their own definitions of what improvement would entail, but also their country of origin, their class status and their family background.[46]

Due to the Industrial Revolution, women's lives changed in different ways. This introduction represents a first step to understand these changes in a better way. Therefore, a general overview of the development of the Industrial Revolution, existing theories and a survey of the fields women were working in, will be given. Hence, it is important to consider that industrialisation was not a sudden event but a long term process and also alteration in women's lives did not occur suddenly but as an ongoing process.

[45] More, Industrial Revolution, 2000, pp. 3-5.
[46] Rachel G. Fuchs and Victoria E. Thompson, Women in nineteenth-century Europe, New York 2005, p. 1.

3.1. THEORIES OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Theories on the Industrial Revolution have already been formulated during the nineteenth century and as mentioned before these theories often differed from each other.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the majority of writers pointed out that these centuries were characterised by a significant change. Already in 1814, Patrick Colquhon wrote about the improvement of machines and their output. In 1826, Thomas Carlyle argued about the increased wealth and the difference between rich and poor in society. Until the 1930s, historians of the British Industrial Revolution agreed about the main features, the innovation of new technologies, industrial development, overseas expansion, population growth and changes in living standards as well as social and political relationships. The term "Industrial Revolution", was used amongst French commentators at the turn of the century to *suggest that nations were experiencing a profound economic and social transformation*.[47] The term was fixed in the language of historians by Arnold Toynbee in his Oxford lectures published in 1884. He saw a sharp break around 1760 when productive processes changed, followed by intensive industrialisation until 1850. He thought that it was caused by a rise of competitive market society, population growth and a decline of agricultural population, which enabled an increased productivity. He fixed the starting point in 1760 because of the invention of the rotary steam engine and new spinning and metal production technologies. Industrial change and socio-political developments were major factors in nineteenth century writing and therefore important for writing in future.[48]

Around the 1930s J. H. Clapham published his three-volume *Economic History of Modern Britain*. He argued that the Industrial Revolution was a local and incomplete phenomenon, by examining the non-mechanised industries which predominated the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, he disagreed with the idea of Marx, Engels, Toynbee, Webbs and others that living standards were declining for the masses.

[47] Hudson, Industrial Revolution, 1992, pp. 9-12.
[48] Hudson, Industrial Revolution, 1992, pp. 9-12.

Before the 1970s the Industrial Revolution was associated with factory production and mechanisation most of the time. However, Mendels characterised industrialisation by a two stage process. The first was dominated by the spread of rural domestic manufacturing for distant markets followed by an increase of capital, entrepreneurial, wage-labour force and markets. These developments led into stage two, based on factory and capital-intensive mechanisation. Research in the 1970s and 1980s confirmed that it is important to consider different elements during this period and not just to focus on single factors and furthermore to make integrated research to achieve representative results.[49]

The participation of women during this period in the working world was given relatively little attention. According to Theresa McBride, "ordinary people", who were mostly affected by industrialisation, have left few records of their reactions. In particular, one group which has been little considered in written histories of industrialisation, were women. In spite of historians' assumptions that to write about the history of men includes the history of women, women experience historical processes differently. McBride discussed the fact that women differed from men both biologically and in the roles they have played throughout history. Therefore, industrialisation also affected them uniquely, just as their participation in the industrial process was distinctive. Furthermore, in her opinion women were hardly considered in the written histories of industrialisation.[50] Nevertheless, information about women could be found for example in censuses or in payment sheets. Although the information might be not comprehensive, women workers were also mentioned in, for example, textbooks. Information was provided about young women, who were an important source of labour in the new textile mills of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[51]

Ivy Pinchbeck, therefore, was one historian, who paid attention to "women workers during the Industrial Revolution in Britain", in 1930.[52] Research on females during this period was not elaborate over the subsequent centuries, but the situation changed, when new fields in history, for example gender history, arose during the second half

[49] Hudson, Industrial Revolution, pp. 6, 13-36.
[50] Theresa McBride, Women's work and Industrialisation; In: Lenard R. Berlandstein (ed.), The Industrial Revolution and Work in Ninetheenth-Century Europe, London 1992, pp. 63-65.
[51] McBride, Women's work 1992, pp. 63-65.
[52] Ivy Pinchbeck, Women workers and the Industrial Revolution, London 1981.

of the twentieth century. New questions about women were asked and women especially started to do research on women's work.
However, criticism was expressed, that the situation of women during this period was not sufficiently discussed.

According to Pat Hudson, social and cultural history feminists have continued considerably to enhance our understanding of working-class politics, domestic ideals and the role of gender ideology in the period. However, the debate on the relationship between industrialisation and the place of women in society is definitely not resolved. Hudson argued that many interpretations are concerned to isolate long-term trend in female experience and they often understate the enormous regional, class and life-cycle diversity of experiences. According to her point of view, it is important to turn away from the linear perspective of the optimist/pessimist debate on the impact of the Industrial Revolution on women. It is necessary to look at long cycles of demand for female labour, the economic conditions that create these and the ways in which individuals, families, institutions and ideas shift to accommodate and in turn to modify the social and cultural impact of such cycles.[53]

Moreover, Pat Hudson and W.R. Lee pointed out that much of the history of women's work has been written from a male perspective. This often resulted in a preoccupation with the ways in which women have participated in social processes, including work, which are defined in terms of male experience.[54]

Theories about the Industrial Revolution caused various debates. One of these debates discusses the question if the life and living circumstances of women were given enough attention, or if research has, in the main, ignored the topic.

Until the introduction of gender history, history from below and everyday history women's lives were not the main focus in historiography. However, after this process more and more historians spend time on these fields of research. Actually, Ivy Pinchbeck already had paid attention to "women workers during the Industrial Revolution in Britain" by examining women in textiles, domestic industries, mining,

[53] Hudson, Industrial Revolution, pp. 230-231.
[54] Hudson/Lee, Women's work, 1990, p. 1.

metals, and various crafts during the first half of the twentieth century.[55] Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries for example represent historians of the second half of the twentieth century, who searched e.g. for women's labour force participation and the transition to the male-breadwinner family. Therefore, the argument about history written from a male perspective can be partly disproved – at least since the second half of the twentieth century, when historiography was not dominated just by men anymore and also when women started to increase their scientific careers.

3.2. WORK DURING INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Women have always worked. Some worked within their families, others on the other hand worked for wages outside their home. According to Katrina Honeyman and Jordan Goodman, by the late seventeenth century the new patterns, which occurred in women's work in urban Europe, were no longer simply associated with artisan trades. In addition, connections to the narrow band of industries, especially textile manufacture and clothing trades, retailing and domestic service were established.[56]

Rachel Fuchs and Victoria Thompson argued that the main changes in women's work began with the Industrial Revolution and continued during the nineteenth century. They pointed out that girls often started their working lives at the same age as boys, at around seven years of age. Some women would continue working for wages until after their marriage and the birth of their first child, or for their entire life. Married women who did not continue to work for wages after their children were born, depended most of the time on the male breadwinner.[57]

During the Industrial Revolution, women were involved in the household, but additionally they often also performed factory work, worked in administration or service sectors.[58] Married women were actually not expected to work and help family households with wage contribution, but in reality, men were often not able to support

[55] Pinchbeck, Women workers, 1981.
[56] Katrina Honeyman and Jordan Goodman, Women's Work, Gender Conflict, and Labour Markets in Europe, 1500-1900; In: the Economic History Review, New Series, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Nov. 1991), pp. 608-628.
[57] Fuchs/Thompson, Women, pp. 61-62.
[58] Josef Ehmer, "Innen …", 1993, pp. 81-91.

their wives and children alone. Hence, married women, even if they were not employed in factories, had to work in different areas as by taking in washing, going out charring or taking in lodgers or boarders.[59]

3.2.1. Occupations in the 1841 and 1851 censuses of Great Britain

A census is a procedure of systematically acquiring and recording information about members of the population.[60] According to Joyce Burnette, a census is usually the first place a historian looks for information on employment patterns, because it provides the only complete measures of employment across the entire economy. Nevertheless, censuses are not an accurate measure of women's employment. The census data were collected by men who built some of their cultural ideology into the data. Individual enumeration began with the 1841 census, but knowledge of the occupation of the head of the household was considered sufficient. Therefore, the 1841 census instructed the enumerators to ignore a large fraction of women workers; the instructions state, "The professions of wives or of sons or daughters living with and assisting their parents but not apprenticed or receiving wages, need not be inserted". Because of this fact, the work of women was seriously underestimated, particularly in 1841. Between 1841 and 1851, female labour force participation rates increased by about 10 per cent. This apparent increase does not show a real change, it just reflects how drastically women were undercounted in 1841. The 1851 census is an improvement in this respect, but the problem that women workers were still underrepresented still remained. This results from the fact that women workers were more likely than men to be part-time, seasonal, and home workers, and because census enumerators expected women to be dependent.[61]

Notwithstanding these points, table no. 1 shows the occupational distribution from both the 1841 and 1851 census of Great Britain. These numbers suggest low rates of female labour force participation: in the 1841 census only 25 per cent of females over the age of 10 had an occupation, and in the 1851 census only 35 per cent. Women who did work were heavily concentrated in a few occupations. Domestic services, textiles and clothing accounted for 85 per cent in 1841 and 80 per cent in 1851.

[59] Hilary Land, The Family Wage, In: Feminist Review, No. 6 (1980), pp. 60.
[60] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Census accessed 4.4.2009
[61] Joyce Burnette, Gender, Work and Wages in Industrial Revolution Britain, Cambridge 2008, pp. 18-21.

Although women were mostly just concentrated in a few occupations, they participated in a wide field of jobs.

Occupations in the 1841 and 1851 censuses of Great Britain:

	1841 census					1851 census				
	Males		Females			Males		Females		
Occupational category	1000s	%	1000s	%	Percent female	1000s	%	1000s	%	Percent female
Public administration	**40**	0.8	**3**	0.2	7.0	**64**	1.0	**3**	0.1	4.5
Armed forces	**51**	1.0	**0**	0.0	0.0	**63**	1.0	**0**	0.0	0.1
Professions	**113**	2.2	**49**	2.7	30.2	**162**	2.5	**103**	3.6	38.9
Domestic services	**255**	5.0	**989**	54.4	79.5	**193**	2.9	**1135**	40.1	85.5
Commercial	**94**	1.8	**1**	0.1	1.1	**91**	1.4	**0**	0.0	0.0
Transport and communication	**196**	3.8	**4**	0.2	2.0	**433**	6.6	**13**	0.5	2.9
Agriculture	**1434**	28.2	**81**	4.5	5.3	**1788**	27.3	**229**	8.1	11.4
Fishing	**24**	0.5	**0**	0.0	0.0	**36**	0.6	**1**	0.0	2.7
Mining	**218**	4.3	**7**	0.4	3.1	**383**	5.9	**11**	0.4	2.8
Metal manufacture	**396**	7.8	**14**	0.8	3.4	**536**	8.2	**36**	1.3	6.3
Building and construction	**376**	7.4	**1**	0.1	0.3	**496**	7.6	**1**	0.0	0.2
Wood and furniture	**107**	2.1	**5**	0.3	4.5	**152**	2.3	**8**	0.3	5
Bricks, cement, pottery, glass	**48**	0.9	**10**	0.6	17.2	**75**	1.1	**15**	0.5	16.7
Chemicals	**23**	0.5	**1**	0.1	4.2	**42**	0.6	**4**	0.1	8.7
Leather and skins	**47**	0.9	**3**	0.2	6.0	**55**	0.8	**5**	0.2	8.3
Paper and printing	**44**	0.9	**6**	0.3	12.0	**62**	0.9	**16**	0.6	20.5
Textiles	**525**	10.3	**358**	19.7	40.5	**661**	10.1	**635**	22.4	49.0
Clothing	**358**	7.0	**200**	11.0	35.8	**418**	6.4	**491**	17.3	54.0
Food, drink, lodging	**268**	5.3	**42**	2.3	13.5	**348**	5.3	**53**	1.9	13.2

Other	**476**	9.3	**41**	2.3	7.9	**445**	6.8	**75**	2.6	14.4
Total occupied	**5093**	100.0	**1815**	100.0	26.3	**6545**	100.0	**2832**	100.0	30.2
Total unoccupied	**1604**		**5369**			**1060**		**5294**		
Total individuals over age 10	**6697**		**7184**		51.8	**7605**		**8126**		51.7
Labour force participation rate	**76.0**		**25.3**			**86.1**		**34.9**		

Source see page 99 Table 1

Note: % = percentage of all occupied males or female in this occupational category. Percent female = percentage of individuals in this occupational category who were female.

3.3. FIELDS OF EMPLOYMENT

As already mentioned, work outside the household was often split in two segments – highly qualified and low qualified work. High income, reputation, qualification and so forth were ascribed to men, the worse and negative side to women. During the nineteenth century in England and France, 60 to 70 per cent of employees in the domestic service, textiles and clothing industries were women. According to Josef Ehmer, employment of women in centralised factories had a long tradition. Already in the eighteenth century women worked in manufactories and had to perform the work, which they had already done before, e.g. in schools for spinning. A large proportion of labourers were women. These developments can be explained by the introduction of new machines when a demand occurred for "unqualified", furthermore, underpaid labourers. Women performed work, which needed dexterity and speed but not physical strength and these adjectives were not necessarily associated with highly qualified work. These developments continued until the second wave of industrialisation at the turn of the twentieth century. This situation resulted in a patriarchal-led working world. The majority of women working in factories were of a significantly young age. In 1841 in England, for example, 50 per cent of factory workers were under the age of 20, and in Austria in the 1850s 80 per cent of female employees were unmarried; hence a large section of these workers must also have been of a young age. This was a result of the fact that it was nearly impossible to perform household and factory work.[62]

But despite all these changes, the majority of women remained engaged in farm labour and cottage crafts in rural areas. Women's contribution in rural work remained essential. Fuchs and Thompson discussed the fact that industrial capitalism varied by region, as did women's work. Therefore, rural economy dominated longer in Southern and Eastern Europe than it did in the north and west. Women who went to the cities to earn money did not always engage in modern factory or manufacturing jobs. Fuchs and Thompson argued that many females entered cities to work in traditional jobs of domestic service and laundry work, or they just followed their husbands. Throughout the nineteenth century, domestic service was the largest employer of women outside of the agricultural sector. Domestic service was not just a

[62] Ehmer, "Innen…", 1993, pp. 81-91.

possibility to work for middle-class families, but it was also a socially-approved form of women's work.[63]

However, women worked in different kind of jobs and beneath this factory work was one possibility to earn wages. According to Therese McBride the Industrial Revolution did not usher in a new phase in the employment of women in that sense. In proto-industrial times, women's work was home-based and largely seasonal work, which did not really interrupt women's responsibilities in child care and household duties. But during industrialisation women were supposed to perform their jobs away from homes, and industrialisation did not tolerate an erratic workforce. These changes needed an adjustment of the terms.[64] Pat Hudson and W. R. Lee described industrialisation as a development which *diminished women's roles in economic production by drastically curtailing the role of the family as a market production.*[65] A debate on this situation occurred, if these developments led to oppression for women or if it also could be seen as a chance to bear a challenge and enter the labour-market. Therefore, marriage could be seen as a partnership, domestic work and child care were shared and individualism replaced family decisions about love and marriage. These debates were, according to Hudson and Lee, influenced by a functionalist and economic determinist perspective. Furthermore, regional and life-cycle diversity within societies should have been regarded. As already mentioned the majority of women did not work in factories. Census data from a variety of European countries provided contradictory evidence about the impact of industrialisation on women's work. Due to Hudson and Lee the recorded female employment has increased and diversified, but it remained relatively low during the nineteenth century.[66]

According to Ivy Pinchbeck, occupations open to men were always more numerous than those available for women. However, women often just had to earn their own livings and these women were the great majority employed in factories. Women's position in factories was difficult and their working conditions were really harsh. In the Factory Acts of 1844 many provisions (e.g. lowering of working hours) which were

[63] Fuchs/Thompson, Women, 2005, pp. 61-65.
[64] McBride, Women's work, pp. 64-66.
[65] Hudson /Lee, Women's work, 1990, pp. 19-21.
[66] Hudson /Lee, Women's work, 1990, pp. 19-21.

supposed to protect women and children were included. This was a first step taken towards the regulation of industry in the interest of the women workers.[67]

According to Horrell and Humphries it might be possible that industrialisation increased women's work with the evidence of a *strong female involvement in domestic industry by shifting the emphasis to the terms and conditions of the work*.[68] However, they thought industrialisation opened new opportunities but closed others.[69] Due to research women workers were mainly employed in a handful of occupations (e.g. as spinners, dressmakers, embroiderers) and never in positions of authority, which means the women underlie a strong gender hierarchy, therefore, were mainly supervised by male bosses.[70]

[67] Pinchbeck, Women workers, 1981, pp. 196-201.
[68] Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries, Women's labour Force Participation and the Transition to the Male-Breadwinner Family, 1790-1865, In: The Economic History Review, New Series, Vol. 48, No. 1 (Feb. 1995), pp. 89-117.
[69] Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, Women, work, and family, New York 1978, pp. 63-65.
[70] Burnette, Gender, 2008, pp. 72-83.

3.4. CONCLUSION

According to Charles More the Industrial Revolution can be described as a phenomenon which occurred over a long period of time. The term itself was coined during the 1840s, and fixed in the language of historians by Arnold Toynbee in his Oxford lectures published in 1884.

More described the different interpretations of historians who saw the Industrial Revolution as a continuation of earlier change almost rooted in the past. However for other historians, the Industrial Revolution constituted a complete shift in the process of economic growth. Hence theories on these developments varied in different ways. More added, furthermore, that the Industrial Revolution implies not only the absolute growth of industry, but also its expansion relates to other sectors of economy. Other factors which influenced this period were population growth, the need for money and a change in consumer demand.

In reference to Fuchs and Thompson ,women of all European countries and social classes experienced some of the most dramatic and enduring changes in their familial, working and political lives during this period. Women's live changed in different ways and got better or worse depending on their own definition, their country origin, their class status and their family background. Throughout the nineteenth century domestic service was the largest employer of women outside agriculture. Anyway, women worked in different kind of jobs and beneath this factory work was one chance to earn wages.

These new occurring jobs did not only need employees, but also an application of new technology. Therefore, not only work and home place were separated, but also work and leisure time were introduced. People were supervised, while they were working and the industrial output was bigger than before.[71]

[71] Lecture 07.02.2008, Dr. Louise Miskell: Europe of Extremes, The Industrial Revolution and the Experience of Work: http://blackboard.swan.ac.uk/webapps/portal/frameset.jsp?tab_id=_2_1&url=per cent2fwebappsper cent2fblackboardper cent2fexecuteper cent2flauncherper cent3ftypeper cent3dCourseper cent26idper cent3d_11146_1per cent26urlper cent3d accessed on the 28.10.2008

However, different developments and changes made up the Industrial Revolution. It was not just one factor; it was a combination of different parts. Moreover not just technical innovations but also an alteration in people's mind helped to change the time.[72]

Historians of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century predominately focused on "great" men. Women, therefore, were relatively seldom mentioned. Just middle-class women were given attention to. Working-class women have been largely ignored. Over the years working women got more and more involved in the literature. Eric Hobsbawm, for example, devotes a whole chapter in his book "The Age of Empire 1875-1914" to women. However, the main focus is upon the lives of middle-class women.[73]

Although women were in some extend given attention to in research during the nineteenth century, a scrutinizing by feminist historians, who questioned the existing assumptions and boundaries, analysed concepts of mainstream research and exploring the sexual division of labour and interpreting working-class women's lives in the past, made it possible to start new debates and include other point of views.[74]

Results of these research showed that the impact of the Industrial Revolution on women's live highly differed. Aside from different life-cycle variations, the local and regional structure of production was crucial in influencing gender-specific economic roles. Therefore, it is important to consider not only the labour process itself, but also particular industries and the highly diverse regional phenomenon of industrialisation.[75]

However, the Industrial Revolution did not only change the lives of women, but also altered those of men and children.

[72] L. R. Berlanstein (ed.), The Industrial Revolution and Work in Nineteenth-Century Europe, London 1992, pp. 63-71.
[73] L. R. Berlanstein (ed.), The Industrial Revolution and Work in Nineteenth-Century Europe, London 1992, pp. 63-71.
[74] L. R. Berlanstein (ed.), The Industrial Revolution and Work in Nineteenth-Century Europe, London 1992, pp. 63-71.
[75] Hudson/Lee, Women's work, 1990, p. 33.

4. PAID EMPLOYMENT FOR WOMEN: FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE OR OBLIGATION TO THE FAMILY INCOME?

In reference to Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, industrialisation involved the movement of labour and resources away from home-made products toward commercial manufacturing, and service activities.[76] According to Charles More early (textile) machinery was not built with the notion that it would be installed in a large, centralised workplace. But it came apparent when machines were working (e.g. Richard Arkwright's roller spinning machine). Workers in factories, therefore, started to be employed more regularly, on the contrary, workshops and domestic industries continued with their old habits. However, the demand for labour increased during industrialisation and therefore, also many children and women had to be involved in the new fields of work.[77]

Anyway, Horrell and Humphries show that classic texts often assumed that the Industrial Revolution just created new job opportunities for women and children. They inferred that industrialisation promoted women's independence and emancipated them from the patriarchy of the pre-capitalist household. Furthermore, the contribution was seen as not only a benefit for the family, but also for economy. Therefore, while the small earnings of women had made their contribution to family budget for centuries, with the Industrial Revolution their earnings became also central to domestic economy. According to McKendrick women's and children's increased work and wages became a cause as well as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution.[78] But in what way were girls and women able to support their family? Furthermore, did they use their money just for contributing to family income or was it really a new form of independence which occurred?

Anyway, this chapter gives information about working conditions in new fields of employment. Furthermore, the development of female wage should be focused on; moreover, women's contribution to family income and problems which occur when interpreting data and drawing a conclusion will be discussed.

[76] Tilly/Scott, Women, 1978, pp. 63-65.
[77] More, Industrial Revolution, 2000, pp. 51-55.
[78] Horrell/Humpries, Women's Labour force, 1990, pp. 92-93.

4.1. WORKING CONDITIONS

As already mentioned, working-class girls and women were mainly working in agriculture, domestic service and textile industry throughout the Industrial Revolution.[79] Therefore, Tilly and Scott argued that the early industrialisation did not create huge changes in terms of jobs women worked in; it just increased the number of women working for wages.[80] Thus, factory work was not typical female work until the nineteenth century.[81] However, when females were working in factories, they had to get used to new characteristics and conditions of work. It is important to know that these features started to be regarded in research as an important factor for living standards.

The work in factories differed in various ways from work women had done before. One major difference was to work by clock and by the rhythm of the machine. The work day in factories started mostly in the morning and lasted twelve hours and according to Bonnie Smith industrialists imposed strict fines on anyone who was late or did anything else which seemed to detract from production.[82] Also the location imposed much pressure on women. The possibility to move from one task to another in the own household to doing disciplined work in factories changed their lives.[83] Female employees had just to focus on their work; therefore, they just had to follow a new daily routine. Although a gender-based division of labour had already existed in agricultural work, men and women were strictly segregated. Work was also quite often very dirty, especially in foundries, in tanning and in coal mines. The work was very hard and for example in mines the heat, the strenuous work and long working days were very stressful.[84] Also noisy machinery, wages dependent on market conditions and economic cycles and profit driven employers can be mentioned as differences to work in pre-industrial period.[85]

[79] Tilly/Scott, Women, 1978, pp. 63-65.
[80] Tilly, Women, 1978, pp. 104-105.
[81] Katrina Honeyman, Women, Gender and Industrialisation in England, 1700-1870, New York 2000, p. 85.
[82] Bonnie G. Smith, Changing Lives. Women in European History Since 1700, Toronto 1989, pp. 157-158.
[83] Simonton, European women, 1998, pp. 162-170.
[84] Smith, Changing Lives, 1989, pp. 157-158.
[85] Simonton, European women, 1998, pp. 165-170.

Moreover, the work-life balance was hard to manage - household duties had to be performed, children had to be cared about and gainful employment had to be done.[86]

The Factory Acts of 1844 provided a clear example of the harsh conditions under which work had to be performed. In this Act the working hours were reduced to 12 per day during the week and nine hours on Sundays. This included one and a half hour for meals. Furthermore, ages must have been verified by surgeons and accidental death had to be investigated and reported to surgeons. Moreover, machinery had to be fenced in.[87]

Generally spoken female fields of employment remained the same than in the centuries before. Nevertheless, the progress of the factory system did, as already mentioned, increase tremendously the amount of employment available for women.
These new fields of employment also differed in their conditions to the common fields women were used to work in. Women were performing work in factories under different conditions than in their homes. Therefore, these developments and changes can be seen as an impact on their working and private lives.

4.2. WAGES AND CONTRIBUTION

The question of female wages, especially factory wages, is a subject itself and therefore very difficult to answer. Different wages were paid in different places for the same kinds of work.[88]

However, women's wages were clearly lower than men's. According to More women's wages were usually between one-third and two-thirds of men's.[89]

Anyway, while for some occupations women's earnings increased relatively in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, for all employments they grew at a lower rate than men's (or children's) earnings after 1840.[90] The wage gap between females

[86] Simonton, European women, 1998, pp. 165-170.
[87] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Factory_Acts accessed 28th April 2009
[88] Pinchbeck, Women workers, 1981, p. 190.
[89] More, Industrial Revolution, 2000, pp. 54-55.
[90] Horrell/Humphries, Women's labour, 1995, pp. 89-117.

and males was not constant through the working life, but appeared in the teenage years and declined in old age. The wage gap varied with age. Girls earned the same wages as boys, but after the age of 16, boys quickly started to surpass girls and continued to earn more than women throughout their lives. In older ages, however, the difference became smaller, as male wages fell. The existence of the wage gap is well known and not disputed, but the explanations about these gaps are various. Economists, for example, argued that wage variations must reflect differences in productivity.[91] Joyce Burnette assumed that the gap resulted from shorter hours of work, less physical strength and lower levels of human capital embodied in training. However, Burnette agrees that customary limitations on women's entry to many occupations may have overcrowded occupations largely staffed by women and depressed wages in these.[92] On the other side, others assumed the customary nature of wages and interpret the wage dissimimilarity as a result of an ideology devaluing women. In addition women's low wages are often said to be a result from the fact that society expected that women did not need that much money as they were supposed to depend on the income of men.[93]

However, contemporaries probably believed about women's inferiority and dependence and that they were weak and unskilled, but the low wages might also be a result of the patriarchal society and to keep cost of labour low.[94]

Anyway, women participated in the labour market and earned money. This money was often added to the family income. Information about these data is provided in census; nevertheless, these dates conclude some problems. According to Horrell and Humphries, many authors have used nineteenth-century census data to demonstrate declining female participation and increasing employment segregation, although the censuses at best can only help with trends after 1841. One problem provides the "invisibility" of married women's work. Therefore, just young and single women were confined to factory work. Variations in under-reporting of wives' occupations create anomalies in cross-sectional comparisons. The contribution of women in both agricultural and domestic industry families had become almost

[91] Burnette, Gender, 2008, p. 79.
[92] More, Industrial Revoultion, 2000, pp. 54-55.
[93] Burnette, Gender, 2008, p. 79.
[94] Burnette, Gender, 2008, p. 220.

invisible in accounts of occupations by mid nineteenth century, but in both cases the earnings definition suggests a much higher level of involvement. Therefore, different authors have suggested that occupational designations and hence, census returns, are likely to underestimate married women's paid work.[95]

The following table should give an overview about the contribution of men and of women and children together. The contribution by women and children to low-wage agricultural family income represents a fairly narrow range of variations in the percentage of contribution. Women and children increased the family income between 18 and 22 per cent. In high-wage counties more variation can be observed (from 7 to 20 per cent). The increase in income to agricultural families from 1787-1815 to 1816-20 in the high wage counties, and from 1787-1815 to 1821-40 in those where low wages prevailed, gave some evidence for McKendrick's thesis, though, this was both minor a short lived given the subsequent decline in contributions.[96]

Miners' and metalworkers' wives and children contributed first more and then less to family income. Therefore, the transition for these families to increased dependence on men was perhaps made more abruptly by the Mines Regulation Act of 1842, which lowered women's and children's work. Women and children whose husbands and fathers worked in factories contributed a higher share of family income than those in all other occupational categories (except outworkers), with some increase during the Industrial Revolution. The contributions of the wives and children of artisans rose. The pattern can be compared to that within agriculture and mining. Except factory families, women and children did not appear to have increased substantially their relative contributions to the household. It just ought to be mentioned that families depended more and more on male earnings. Moreover, male earnings appeared to have increased in relative importance more than the earnings of other family members. The trend may still have been towards increased contributions from women and children, if an increasing share of families fell into categories in which male earning were relatively unimportant. Although the economic restructuring associated with industrialisation may have increased for example the outworkers' group until the 1830s, its decline thereafter, and the increased importance of artisans and mining families in which women's and children's earning

[95] Horrell/Humphries, Women's labour, 1995, pp. 89-117.
[96] Horrell/Humphries, Women's labour, 1995, pp. 89-117.

were less important, suggest that in aggregate the trend in the relative contributions of women and children was probably negative.[97]

Contributions to family income by men, women and children:

	Family income (£)	Sample Size	Man's Contribution (%)	Woman's & children's contr. (%)	Woman's contribution (%)	Sample size
High-wage agriculture						
1787-15	25.08	(42)	88.5	10.5	5.2	(39)
1816-20	41.21	(38)	75.8	19.9	3.8	(31)
1821-40	36.68	(45)	87.5	9.2	1.7	(40)
1841-45	34.74	(5)	91.4	7.4	5.0	(5)
1846-65	41.86	(46)	86.10	13.9	0.5	(24)
All time periods	36.19	(176)	85.0	13.0	3.0	(139)
Low-wage agriculture						
1787-15	23.00	(99)	78.5	18.4	9.6	(99)
1821-40	31.86	(136)	62.6	21.9	11.6	(81)
1841-45	31.29	(9)	77.7	20.4	5.6	(9)
1846-65	37.02	(81)	80.2	19.6	1.9	(35)
All time periods	30.43	(325)	72.3	20.2	8.9	(224)

[97] Horrell/Humphries, Women's labour, 1995, pp. 89-117.

Mining						
1787-15	45.37	(5)	74.0	20.1	8.2	(5)
1816-20	53.81	(54)	71.6	26.3	3.9	(54)
1821-40	87.24	(6)	74.0	25.3	3.0	(6)
1841-45	52.56	(32)	86.5	13.4	0.5	(32)
1846-65	78.66	(1)	(89.8)	0.0	0.0	(1)
All time periods	55.27	(98)	76.9	21.4	2.9	(98)
Factory						
1787-15	74.77	(19)	67.5	32.7	5.8	(16)
1816-20	67.29	(24)	72.5	25.1	0.7	(24)
1821-40	71.18	(28)	63.3	36.5	9.8	(16)
1841-45	81.90	(2)	60.3	39.7	0.0	(2)
1846-65	93.60	(5)	52.9	47.1	24.3	(1)
All time periods	72.57	(78)	66.4	32.8	4.9	(59)
Trades						
1787-15	44.36	(8)	80.0	16.5	3.0	(7)
1816-20	45.74	(30)	80.8	19.2	3.5	(26)
1821-40	47.67	(8)	65.6	23.9	0.0	(3)
1841-45	41.03	(1)	95.1	4.9	n.a	
1846-65	68.80	(7)	86.7	3.4	3.4	(7)
All time periods	48.72	(54)	79.4	17.2	3.1	(43)

Source see page 99 Table 2

According to Humphries and Horrell tree important conclusions emerged from this table.

1.) The accounts of women's and children's contributions to family incomes must be conditional on their occupational and regional identity.
2.) Except factory families, women's and children's contributions were relatively small at the end of the eighteenth century and remained like this throughout the period.
3.) The variation of women's and children's contribution over time and across occupations is not consistently related to family income level. Low-wage

agricultural families were among the poorest, yet the percentage contributions of wives and children were small relative to much better-off families whose fathers were employed in factories for example.[98]

Nevertheless, the second half quarter of the nineteenth century was associated with higher relative earnings for some women.[99] This and new job opportunities increased female labour force participation in some occupations above its post-Napoleonic war level. Nevertheless, the period of increased financial independence for women was said to be short lived; participation rates and relative earnings declined after mid century.[100]

4.3. GIRLS AND YOUNG WOMEN

In reference to Louise Tilly and Joan Scott in the family wage economy a daughter's work continued to be defined by the need of her family. Children (boys and girls) had to start working and support the family needs as soon as they were able to. Although schools did exist, children were sent to work instead of school when money was needed.[101] Therefore, domestic service, an expanding field of work, was often the first step into the working world.[102]

According to Hugh Cunningham, already in the 1830s and beyond, children played a major role in key industries, most notably in textiles and coal mining.[103] Girls for example were widely employed with the newer textile technologies in the silk and cotton industry. Furthermore, child assistants were often used as an extra appendage of the worker; this trained these children to habits of industry.[104]
Children and young girls, however, contributed more in earnings than women did.[105]

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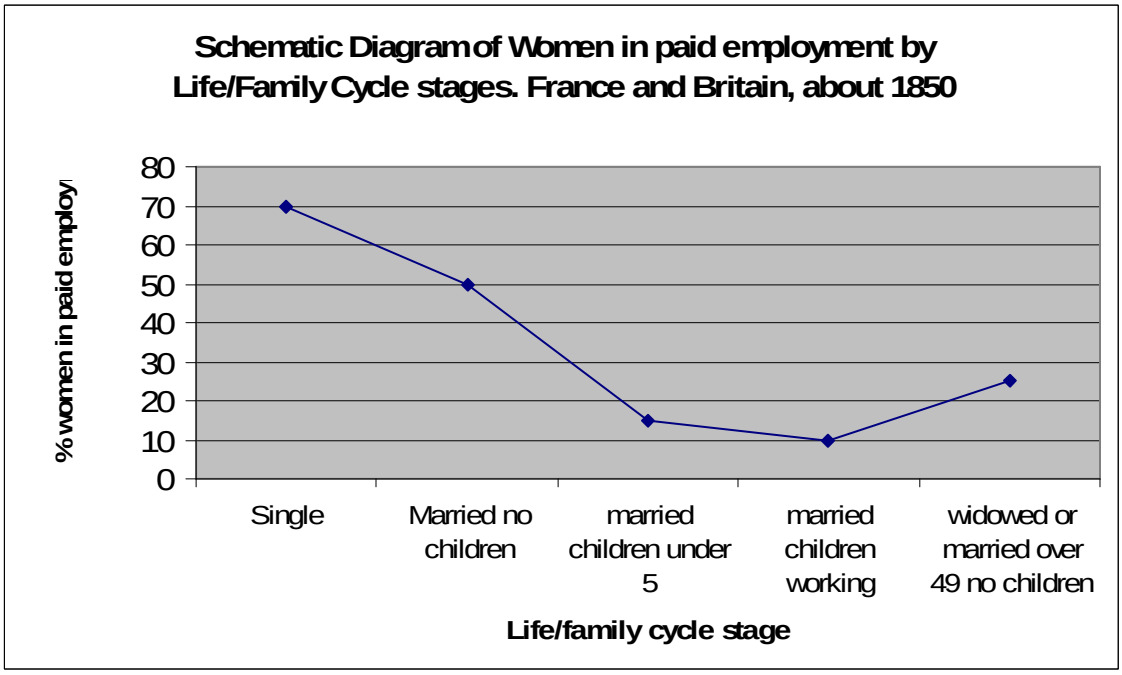
[98] Horrell/Humphries, Women's labour, 1995, pp. 89-117.
[99] Horrell/Humphries, Women's labour, 1995, pp. 89-117.
[100] Horrell/Humphries, Women's labour, 1995, pp. 89-117.
[101] Tilly, Women, 1978, pp. 106-115.
[102] Tilly, Women, 1978, pp. 116-121.
[103] Hugh Cunningham, The Decline of Child Labour: Labour Markets and Family Economies in Europe and North America Since 1830, In: The Economic History Review, New Series, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Aug. 2000), pp. 409-428.
[104] Maxine Berg, What difference did women's work make to the Industrial Revolution?, In: History Workshop, No. 35 (Spring, 1993), pp. 30-34.
[105] Tilly, Women, 1978, pp. 106-115.

During the nineteenth century European labour markets, especially the urban trades were dominated by young and single women as married women were more marginalised. According to Honeyman and Goodman, single women did not only dominate domestic service and textile factories, also service sector provided new access for unmarried women.[106]

Anyway, the participation of married women in paid employment differed to them of singles. Therefore, the following table should give a first impression of female participation in paid employment. It visualises clearly that single women were the largest group of females who were involved in this process. This underlines the thesis that married women, especially married women with children, avoided to work in these fields as it was quite difficult to manage a household, care about the children and perform work in a factory.[107]



Source see page 99 Table 3

However, employment for young girls and singles was not just a source for the family income. According to Thomas Dublin, it is true that women were not supposed to work outside home. It was primarily expected that they got married and cared for their families. Hence, the new working opportunities enabled single women to be

[106] Honeyman/Goodman, Women's work, 1991, p. 615.
[107] Tilly, Women, 1998, pp. 106-115.

more self-supporting than before and gave them probably (at least when they earned enough) the possibility to decide if they wanted to get married or not. It was not just a surviving strategy anymore.[108]

Thus, for young girls and daughters these changes also meant the chance to become more independent and autonomous of family control. They learned how to handle with money and about the products they could buy with it.[109] According to Pat Hudson, it is argued that industrial earnings also gave young people more social and sexual freedom, which may be one cause of the notable rise in illegitimacy and prenuptial pregnancy.[110] According to Michael Anderson, between 1740 and 1790 the proportion of births which occurred outside marriage rose almost everywhere. In England, for example, the illegitimacy ratio was about 3 per cent around 1750, about 5 per cent by 1800 and about 6.5 per cent by 1850. In France the figures were lower but also rose during this period. However, in Sweden, illegitimate birth increased very fast from 2 per cent by 1780 to 7 per cent by 1850.[111]
This freer life style also arose due to the possibility of physical escaping from the family. Young girls had often to leave their family to find work. These changes brought up much criticism by society.

Families, however, became more and more wage-earning instead of production units. Furthermore, family members did not depend on this way of production anymore. Even though daughters stayed at home or whole families migrated to textile towns, family relationships and sometimes the family itself altered. Teen-aged children often earned wages and parents depended on this income.[112]

Nevertheless, quite often single girls earned that little money that the wage was insufficient either to support them or to enable her to send money home, therefore, they had to find a husband as they might be able together to subsist.[113] But a large

[108] Tilly, Women, 1978, pp. 106-115.
[109] Tilly, Women, 1978, pp. 116-121.
[110] Pat Hudson, Industrial organisation and structure, In: Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson (eds.), The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain. Volume I, Industrialisation, 1700-1860, Cambridge 2004, pp. 34-36.
[111] Michael Anderson (ed.), British population history. From the Black Death to the present day, New York 1996, pp. 226-227.
[112] Tilly, Women, 1978, pp. 116-121.
[113] Tilly, Women, 1978, p. 57.

number of unmarried women with no prospect of being married had still to fight for their survival.
Anyway, children and young girls were deployed in different sectors of employment. They had to work outside the family economy and earn money to support their family income. This family income had first priority. Young girls were an important resource for gaining money, although their wages were mostly very low.[114]

Nevertheless, in reference to Berg wages of women always helped to support the family income, no matter if they were low or fluctuating.[115] Tilly and Scott pointed out that working girls not only supported their families, they also had some measure of influence over the allocation of family resources since their wages were part of those resources.[116]

Furthermore, this new system provided not only the possibility to find a gainful employment, but also a potential for a form of "new independence" as it gave young women the chance to leave home, where they could avoid family control and learn how to handle money.[117] These changes during this period of time can be seen as an improvement for young females, however, the gainful employment of young and single women led to social critique. During the nineteenth century middle-class women became more and more the ideal of working-class women. Therefore, criticism about inappropriate work and their results increased and led to various debates (see below chapter 5).

[114] Tilly, Women, 1978, pp. 116-121.
[115] Berg, Difference of women's work, 1993, p. 37.
[116] Tilly, Women, 1978, pp. 116-121.
[117] Tilly, Women, 1978, pp. 116-121.

4.4. MARRIED WOMEN

Under the family wage economy married women performed several jobs in their families. They were not only responsible for earning money but also for managing the household and childcare. According to Tilly and Scott, during the Industrial Revolution women had more and more problems to combine the gainful employment and to perform their domestic activities. While it was possible to connect market-oriented activities and domestic work during the domestic mode of production, the Industrial Revolution made it quite difficult to combine these activities. Hence, married women working in factories represented only a small proportion of all female factory workers and even smaller proportion of all married women in labour forces in England and France. Married women were often found in larger numbers in the least industrialised sectors of the labour force. In these sectors women were able to control the rhythm of their work. Tilly and Scott pointed out that compared to single women; married women often performed jobs which were temporary and episodic. Therefore, employer preferred workers with no other demands on their time; hence, single women were more likely to work steadily, for longer periods of time without interruptions. These jobs were low paid and exploiting the women. Full-time work was most of the time limited to the years before marriage and the first years before children were born. But a large number of children demanded an additional income and so women had to work. Quite often their husbands' low wages were the most important reason for women to work. In wage earning families married women were responsible for shopping, cooking; making, cleaning and repairing clothing; and caring for children. These activities took a great deal of time. Food was the major item in a working-class family budget. Women had to manage the provision of food. Their activities changed when conditions of work changed and when organisation of production altered their ability to easily reconcile these activities.

Women did not work continuously any more throughout their lives, balancing their time between productive and domestic responsibilities as they had under the household mode of production. Furthermore, they alternated different activities over the course of their lives.[118] Nevertheless, women's contributions to the family household matched the contributions of their children only at the peak of

[118] Tilly, Women, 1978, pp. 123-145.

industrialisation. In agricultural families wives and mothers generated 5 per cent of family income in high wage and 12 per cent in low-wage counties. Factory workers' women had often made just little contributions; outworkers' wives on the contrary earned about 11 per cent of income in the 1840s. Wives' incomes in the period between 1816 and 1840, except those of factory workers, added more to family income than after 1840. The second quarter of the nineteenth century was characterised by higher incomes in several jobs for women.[119]
Daughters and young wives spent most of their time in earning wages. After their children were born, home and family got more and more important and employment was often interrupted for long periods of time.[120]

Married women workers continued to work in urban domestic industry. Clothing employed thousands of women in European cities. Therefore, sweated labour either in the home or in so called family workshops predominated, however, women worked there for a little reward, and the greater part of this workforce consisted of married women. In Berlin, for example, 75 per cent of home workers were married, widowed or separated. The expansion of domestic work was on the one hand the result of married women's need to find socially and politically acceptable employment. On the other hand the increasing subdivision of tasks within factory production required the female workers. The proletarianisation of female labour brought up a debate on the position of women in the economy. The participation of women in the labour market was a problem as they challenged patriarchal power.[121]

[119] Horrell/Humphries, Women's Labour, 1995, pp. 89-117.
[120] Tilly, Women, 1978, pp. 123-145.
[121] Honeyman/Goodman, Women's work, 1991, p. 617-621.

4.5. CONCLUSION

Due to growing markets during the eighteenth century, manufactory activities expanded and producers tried to centralise production.[122] These changes were often described as an opening of new fields of employment for women.

Agriculture, domestic service and textile industry can be mentioned as the most common fields of female employment. Early Industrial Revolution did not create huge changes in terms of jobs women worked in; it just increased the number of women working for wages. Overall their fields of employment remained the same than in the centuries before, e.g. as spinners, dressmakers, embroiderers and lace makers. Nevertheless, the progress of the factory system did increase the amount of employment available for women. Anyhow, in factories women were doing work they had always done in their homes, just under different conditions (esp. in textiles).

Wages for this new work are difficult to analyse, and according to Pinchbeck, different wages were paid in different places for the same kind of work. Generally spoken women's wages were clearly lower than men's – usually between one-third and two thirds. Nevertheless, the wage gap between males and females were not constant throughout their working live, but appeared in the teenage years and declined in old ages. In older ages, however, the difference became smaller. The existence of this gap is well known and not disputed, but the explanations about are various. Burnette, for example, assumed that the gap resulted from shorter hours of work, less physical strength and lower levels of human capital embodied in training. Furthermore, she agrees that due to many occupations largely staffed by women their wages were pushed. Others interpreted the gaps as a result of an ideology of devaluing women.

However, although women earned just little money, they often contributed their wage to the family income. According to Horrell and Humphries, it is difficult to use census data before 1841. Therefore, just single and young women were confined to factory work. Wives were often underrepresented. Anyway, the contribution of women varied

[122] Honeyman, Women, 2000, p. 35.

in different spheres of action. Women and children whose husbands and fathers worked in factories contributed a higher share of family income than those in other occupations. To sum up, except factory families, women and children have not increased their contributions to the household considerably. Furthermore, the variations of women's and children's contribution over time and in different jobs are not necessarily related to family income level.

Not only wages, but also the marital status was important for females. While it was more easily for single women to work in factories, married women had more and more problems to combine the gainful employment and their domestic activities. Therefore, married women were often found in larger numbers in less industrialised sectors of labour force. In these sectors women were able to control the rhythm of their work. Compared to single women, married women often performed jobs which were temporary and episodic. Employers often preferred workers with no other demands on their time; hence, single women were more likely to work steadily, for longer periods of time without interruptions. Full time work was often just limited to the years before marriage and the first years before children were born. Single and young girls, however, had often to start working in an early age as they had to support their family needs. As already mentioned it was quite difficult for married women to combine domestic and gainful work, therefore, children often contributed more earnings than women did. Nineteenth century labour markets were dominated by single women and therefore especially in domestic service, textile factories and during the nineteenth century in service sector.

Employment for young girls and singles did not just mean income for family income. It also meant the chance to become more independent and autonomous of family control. They learned how to handle money and about the new-available range of products. These new changes did not bring only positive aspects, it also led to critique in society.

In summary, girls and women worked in different fields of employment during the Industrial Revolution. Quite often they performed work which they have already done in the centuries before, but industrialisation increased the number of jobs available for women. With their wages women either contributed money to the family income or

used the new opportunities to achieve greater freedom. The problem with analysing the relevant data is caused by the fact that quite often just the male head of the household was recorded. Although wives income probably did not boost those from their husbands they still participated in the labour market, but were often underrepresented as they seemed to be unimportant.

The wage gap between male and females is a widely discussed topic, which is explained in different ways. During the second half of the nineteenth century the model of the male breadwinner became more and more famous. Therefore, the husband was supposed to earn the money and the wife to stay at home in the private sphere and care for household and children. This development was definitely supported by the public opinion and the fact that the ideal of women became the middle-class female, who stayed at home in private sphere and managed the household.

5. ROLE MODELS

> *An almost universal complaint of employers of girls … is that they are almost entirely unable and unwilling to give up methods of work inherited or once learned in favour of more efficient ones, to adapt themselves to new methods, to learn and to concentrate their intelligence, or even to use it at all. Explanations of the possibility of making work easier, above all more profitable to themselves generally encounter a complete lack of understanding.*
>
> Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1958)

From the seventeenth to the late eighteenth centuries, the intellectual climate of Western Europe started to be dominated by a mood of optimism about the potential of individual human reason and the possibility to understand the natural environment of humanity. According to Jane Rendall, concerns about the rights of women occurred already by the eighteenth century. Mary Wollstonecraft, therefore, seemed to apply the arguments of the rights of men in her work *Vindication of Rights of Women* in 1792. Writers of the natural law offered a clearly secular and contractual model of family relationships, on which directly challenged assumptions of divinely ordered patriarchy within the family based. Overall, few writers of this period did take interest in the relationship between sexes, and the implications of their work was quite important. The position of women in Western Europe was analysed in new terms. In reference to Rendall, the terms which occurred during this time were the grounds of debate for feminists and their opponents in the nineteenth century.[123]
Rendall pointed out that a sexual division of labour was common and accepted in the late eighteenth century. The division was primarily focused on cooking, cleaning and washing. But beyond those primary concerns, they also had a range of acceptable tasks which could contribute to the welfare of the household either in cash or in kind. Therefore, society thought of a few special tasks which were seen as appropriate: work in the dairy or in the garden, casual agricultural employment, paid domestic industry, spinning, lace-making, knitting or helping in a husband's trade. For

[123] Jane Rendall, The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780-1860, Chicago 1985, pp. 7-19.

unmarried women, it was common to leave home and work as domestic servants or perhaps as a textile worker in a workshop to make a contribution to the household's income. The high proportion of unmarried women living in great cities like Paris and London, therefore, suggests there was a demand for such employment. During the next centuries economic changes in process, brought significant alteration in the nature of women's labour inside and outside the home. By the 1850s the condition of women workers was a common subject for concern. The conditions of their labour, in factories and in mines, were horrifying for the Victorian public in England. These concerns were ambiguous as they came from humanitarians as well as from legislators and shapers of opinion and from the leaders of the middle- and working-class movements.[124]

The quote at the beginning describes the situation of women in a very negative way. They were simply seen as less skilled, entrenched in their methods and so on. But can this statement be seen as the general view of society or can other opinions also be found? As already mentioned in the previous paragraph, the condition of women workers was a subject for concern in society. But how exactly was this concern expressed, moreover, did the situation or the social status of women change because of these concerns?

This chapter analyses which role models of working women that existed during the Industrial Revolution, what people were thinking about women working in new fields of employment, for example in factories, and if these models changed in the course of time.

[124] Rendall, Feminism, pp. 150-151.

5.1. CONTEMPORARY IMAGES OF FEMALE LIFE

Confusion has seized us, and all things go wrong,
The women have leaped from "their spheres",
And instead of fixed as stars, shoot as comets along,
And are setting the world by the ears! …

They've taken a notion to speak for themselves,
And are wielding the tongue and the pen;
They've mounted the rostrum; the termagant eleves,
And – oh horrid! Are talking to men!

Maria Weston Chapman "The Thimes that Try Men's souls" (1837)

Although women have been in employment throughout history, Gerry Holloway describes public opinion on women as unskilled and not equal to men. They were less valued than their husbands.[125]

Sylvia Walby argued that capitalism and patriarchy did not always work in harmony over gender relations. *During the first half of the nineteenth century there was a continuous struggle between the needs of capitalism for a cheap labour force and patriarchal interests that wanted to maintain existing gender relations or further the marginalisation of women from the better paid sectors of the labour market. Women had little formal power; it means no vote, limited legal rights and access to education*.[126] However, new fields of employment came about during the Industrial Revolution, and as a result of these new jobs, discourses developed which constructed ideal feminine types. They were used to dictate a certain role to working-class women and show them which sort of behaviour and work was socially acceptable. Furthermore, patriarchy assumed that women's work had to be primarily domestic. As a result, women working outside the domestic sphere were criticised. This criticism was not always directly expressed to women's domestic roles. Very often, images of moral danger for women were used to put it into words. The ideal model of a woman was seen in the "middle-class woman". Working-class women's

[125] Gerry Holloway, Women and Work in Britain since 1840, London and New York 2005, p. 16.
[126] Holloway, Women, 2000, pp. 17-18.

behaviour was measured in relation to this example, hence, any manner which was not passive or docile was deemed unfeminine, condemned and was finally used to limit or exclude women's participation in an occupation.[127]

Already during the 1840s working women of all classes started to get more and more attention by contemporaries. Simon Morgan described the situation and furthermore the social opinion about women working in factories, workshops and mines and so on as basis of social ills, including drunkenness, prostitution and poverty.[128] Although lots of these inequities appeared between 1840 and 1870 just little organised resistance by working women can be found.[129]

Discussions about womanhood were not only common in political, religious and scientific writings but also in art and literature gender as a central topic. Therefore, the independent lifestyle of factory girls, their sexual morality and prostitution were topics which were often discussed during this period of time. According to June Purvis, evangelicalism especially discussed the importance of well-ordered domestic routines in order to reach desired national morality.[130]

These theories were strengthened by biomedical theories of gender differences. It was believed that women were mentally unstable and that they should conserve their energies for childbirth and child-rearing.[131] Therefore, it was necessary to care about health and furthermore to shorten activities outside reproduction. These views were mainly represented by the middle-class. But also the working-class had special belief about proper gender roles which were derived from Thomas Paine, John Locke and William Cobbett, who placed women in a position of domestic dependence. Technological change and new methods increased the tension and the antagonism between men and women in work. Thus, women were just seldom included in trade unions during the nineteenth century. However, d*omesticity for women was an ideal rather than a reality for most families*.[132]

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[127] Holloway, Women, 2000, pp. 17-18.
[128] Simon Morgan, A Victorian Women's Place. Public Culture in the Nineteenth Century, London and New York 2007, p. 43.
[129] Holloway, Women, 2000, pp. 17-18.
[130] June Purvis, Women's history, Britain, 1850-1945. An introduction, London 1995, pp. 37-40.
[131] Hudson, Industrial Revolution, 1992, pp. 232-233.
[132] Purvis, Women's history, 1995, pp. 37-40.

In many contemporary writings women were portrayed as victims; their image was to be pitied because they had to work. But women's work was not only seen with pity, but also as a demeaning situation. People thought that women became immoral and transmitted this to the next generation. Moreover, society was arguing that husbands of working wives often became alcoholics because no wife was at home all day exerting a controlling influence. Working women were a symbol of danger. This negative view of working women and the exploitation led to social investigation, which in turn supported charges of immorality. After the mid-century a rise of sociology directed toward research into familial forms and their deviation from imagined norms was influenced by Frédéric Le Play and Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl. They postulated a golden age when patriarchs ruled over extensive families and were confident that free unions and working women and other symptoms of moral decay would disappear after publications of the results of their sociological studies.[133]

During this time, the general study of population was developing and furthermore statisticians used their new skills to fulfil an interest in how the lower class lived. These sociological studies were made about, among other things, working conditions and resulted in a report about the poor circumstances in which work was undertaken. But instead of reforming them, Parliament limited the working day for women and banned them from work in the pits. Women felt betrayed because instead of improving their working conditions, they were made unemployed. These new laws applied more to middle-class than to the poor or working-class. For working-class women, motherhood involved not just caring for their children but also earning enough money to support them. However, when women were holding down gainful employment they seemed bad mothers. By making working women abnormal, it was easier to pay them lower wages and treat them worse than before. Women were seen as women not as workers, thus male-female differences in the workplace were emphasised.[134]

By the middle of the nineteenth century, a hierarchical division of labour had occurred. Husbands became more and more the breadwinner and wives the

[133] Smith, Changing Lives, 1989, pp. 162-163.
[134] Smith, Changing Lives, 1989, pp. 162-163.

domestic managers and moral guardians of the household. This can be associated with the growth of the middle-class and the diffusion of its values.[135]

5.2. FACTORY WORK

As already mentioned in previous chapters, from the very beginning of the Industrial Revolution women were involved in the new areas and new forms of production, which arose with the factory system.[136]

As discussed before, men were supposedly skilled, and women unskilled and less responsible, therefore, less-paid for their work. Moreover, most sectors of work were regarded as unwomanly. The criticism about women's work ranged from neglecting domestic responsibilities to the fear of chaos in social order. Women were reviewed not only by social commentators but also by working men, evangelical Christians, social reformers and even women themselves. However, industrialists, liberals and working-class women and men challenged these attacks for several reasons. Women were for example often described as 'easier to manage'.[137]

Consequently, a struggle between those who supported women working in factories and those who refused them to be able to do so took place. As a result the Factory Acts, which limited working hours to twelve hours in 1844 and from twelve to ten hours in 1847, were introduced. This had two effects: on the one hand, women were confronted with this limitation without being consulted and men could secure shorter hours for themselves. On the other hand, however, the limitation of hours helped women to improve their quality of life. Although the Factory Acts were positive, they also enforced gender inequalities.[138]

But it was not only in working hours in which women were exploited. Poor sanitation and ventilation, the danger of accidents and sexual harassment by their supervisors

[135] Scott/Tilly, Women's Work, 1975, p. 41.
[136] Rendall, Feminism, 1985, pp. 170-171.
[137] Holloway, Women, 2005, pp. 27-30.
[138] Holloway, Women, 2005, pp. 27-30.

was also widespread. The latter especially was a reason for factories to be regarded as places which were not appropriate for respectable women.[139]

5.3. MINING

Referring to Holloway, mining was definitely the field of work which was, at least according to public opinion, most unsuitable for women. Therefore, it was not a big surprise that social reformers wanted to ban women from it. Women's employment in mines varied form district to district. Therefore, in Great Britain for example, women could be found in western Lancashire, parts of Yorkshire, South Wales and eastern Scotland. This work was not in line with public notions of feminity: it was dirty, often involved crawling on hands and knees and in addition to that workers were often just half dressed. Furthermore, they were seen as lacking the domestic skills to run a home and keep their husbands from the public house. Women and children were gradually excluded from that line of work.[140]

The Mines Act of 1842 represented the first gender-based protective legislation enforced by the state. Before 1842, women were employed only in certain mines where they worked quite often in the transporting of coal. Their employment depended on the type of mining, the availability of labour and the degree of capitalisation of the mine.[141] Conditions of mining women were horrible. Nevertheless, the act should protect not only women in their difficult situation, but also affect the moral and sexual improprieties of work as well as the lack of domestic training received by miner's wives. The state did not only want to satisfy the interests of employers but also to regulate the natural role of women.[142]

However, as miners often earned enough money and did not depend on the money women gained, they supported these changes and the idea that women should stay at home.[143]

[139] Holloway, Women, 2005, pp. 27-30.
[140] Holloway, Women, 2005, pp. 33-35
[141] Rendall, feminism, 1985, pp. 170-171.
[142] Rendall, feminism, 1985, pp. 170-173.
[143] Rendall, feminism, 1985, pp. 170-173.

5.4. MARRIED WOMEN

Just a minority of married women, especially those with children, worked in factories or mines.[144]
However, Gerry Holloway describes the double burdens of paid and domestic work as a situation which was judged by society. Women were supposed to do housework and not work in factories. But this public opinion did not consider that quite often women could not quit their jobs as they had the responsibility to contribute to family income. Thus, married women who worked caused many discussions. Plus, according to the antagonists of women's work, they were responsible for a breakdown of the country's morals, as they were regarded to neglect domestic duties.[145]

The economic situation for working women was therefore in confusion by the 1850s.
Consequently, discussion started with the interest on the question on women's work in general. Furthermore, women's employment was related to high infant mortality rates. Hence, politicians, medical practitioners, health and social reformers considered women's work as a main reason for infant mortality. Others thought that low payment and irregular employment were the main problems. They argued that if men earned more, women would not have to work. Once more, middle-class citizens were seen as the ideal role models. Therefore, middle-class women should instruct working-class women how to bring up their children.[146]

Although, middle-class women also left their children in care of others and they were not judged by the public as their behaviour and concept of morality was never seen as inappropriate as that of working-class women. To represent the problems of the working-class, women organisations arose which cared about their needs.[147]

[144] Rendall, Feminism, 1985, pp. 180-182.
[145] Holloway, Women, 2005, pp. 77-87.
[146] Holloway, Women, 2005, pp. 77-87.
[147] Holloway, Women, 2005, pp. 77-87.

5.5. SINGLE WOMEN

The situation of single women differed from that of married women. Singles often had to start their working carrier away from home; therefore, they had to look for accommodation in their new surroundings. Room sharing with siblings, other single women or widows was common. These “independent” women were very carefully supervised by society. Their independence and new attitudes, for example the idea that young women made decisions contrary to those of their mothers relating to family and work, was very suspicious to society. Especially women from the countryside, who migrated to towns to find work, were regarded as a social problem. They were seen as fast, assertive and not religious and were the scapegoat for an alleged decline of the family. These young females were frequently watched in many of their activities and not only in their working environment. Furthermore, they lost their reputation for nearly every breach of moral rules. They often moved to big cities like London. But life in huge towns was not so easy for young and independent females. Poor single women were often accepted with reservation and frequently judged by society as doing something wrong. According to Mauro Palozzi, young single women were arrested and listed as prostitutes just for walking alone in a street at night in Italy during the eighteenth and nineteenth century.[148]

However, the life of a single woman was often characterised by poverty and the fear of being judged by society. The difficult situation of women frequently pushed them into unavoidable marriages. Pregnant single women especially had very few options. Therefore, they either turned to marriage, or were moving into workhouses.[149] Thus, marriages were often not only performed for economic reasons; they also helped to consolidate a person’s reputation again.

Although single women often only worked to make a contribution to the family income, they were criticised by society for doing inappropriate work in the industrial sector. They were blamed for making their own decisions, not living in the same house with their family, their independence, sexual lapses and for not behaving like the ideal type of women – the middle-class woman. These opinions remained widely

[148] Bridget Hill, Women alone. Spinsters in England 1660-1850, New Haven 2001, pp. 106-129.
[149] Bridget Hill, Women alone. Spinsters in England 1660-1850, New Haven 2001, pp. 106-129.

unquestioned during the nineteenth century, although different movements formed and started to stand up for women's rights.

5.6. ORGANISATIONS

With reference to Jane Rendall it is quite difficult to understand the links between industrialisation and women's industrial and political activities. Therefore, Rendall thinks the immensely broad spectrum of domestic employment and outwork as well as the isolated conditions of work precluded the association of women and the growth of unionism. Thus, during the eighteenth century, female friendly societies already existed in Britain and had provided one model of organisation for women. They covered sickness benefits, funeral expenses and also offered the possibility of social occasions. These societies might be organised and administered by women, but it was not a trade association, since women of all trades may join.[150]

Rendall explains the difficulties of tracing women's participation in early trade unions as it was complicated by linguistic ambiguities. In 1811 an Act of Parliament clarified that the word journeyman could be taken to incorporate journeywomen. However, it was not impossible for women to join trade unions.[151]

In the early nineteenth century the organisation of women workers made only limited advances. Two topics were quite important to them: first, the participation of women workers in sporadic movements of protest and secondly, the increasing hostility of some skilled male workers, both from the old, threatened crafts, and from the new, skilled, factory based unions, against the employment of women. Therefore women's protests can be found in small-scale craft industries and in the textile trades. It was likely that women took part in more protests than expected and that it was simply the case that their participation went unrecorded. In 1832, a "Society of Industrious Females" was formed by women to win a better reward for their labour. Due to the industrial changes, many new aspects came about: the industrial changes in the organisation of production seemed to bring the sexual segregation of labour to a

[150] Rendall, Feminism, 1985, pp. 161-162.
[151] Rendall, Feminism, 1985, pp. 161-162.

much greater degree than was previously the case, through the use of cheap female labour.[152]

Referring to Gisela Loffenns-Tillmanns, trade unionism became stronger and stronger during the 1840s, especially that of letterpress printers.[153]

During the 1830s and 1840s class activities and consciousness of class were founded upon distinct gender interests. Working-class struggles focused on the drive for the right to vote and the improvement of working conditions. Morality and respectability, which were central for the working-class, were emphasised through the rhetorical strategies of domesticity and male bread winning. The factory movement supported the ideal of working-class domesticity through which the male breadwinner reigned over women and children both at home and in the workplace. The concept of morality was employed in the construction of women and feminity.[154]
For those allied in the 1830s and 1840s different kinds of co-operation, socialism on a small scale could offer the opportunity to reorganise women's work, perhaps even to recognise their particular needs. But such movements were doomed, as their strength, especially among artisans, decayed. In Britain, liberal feminists identified the barriers to wider employment that imposed low wages upon women, in the artificial construction of women's work.[155]

However, union activities which involved women were rare before the 1870s. Later on, when the "female question" became more prominent, and, when working conditions and rights for women became a focus, female unionism started to become more popular. SPEW (socialist party of England and Wales) was the first organisation which was founded in the last third of the nineteenth century in Britain and represented a common movement which fought for women's rights.[156] In Germany two associations grew in the underground in the 1860s, the "*Unterstützungskasse der Fabrikarbeiterinnen*" (benevolent fund for female factory worker) in Berlin and the "*Unterstützungskasse und der Arbeiterbildungsverein der Näherinnen*"(benevolent fund and needlewomen's worker association) in Wroclaw. A

[152] Rendal, Feminism, 1985, pp. 162-170.
[153] Gisela Losseff-Tillmanns, Frau und Gewerkschaft, Frankfurt am Main 1982, pp. 22-29.
[154] Honeyman, Women, 2000, pp. 115-137.
[155] Rendal, Feminism, 1985, p. 188.
[156] Holloway, Women, 2005, pp.

representative to support employed women was Louise Otto-Peters who published the script: "*Das Recht der Frauen auf Erwerb"* in 1866. On February 10th, 1869 the "Internationale Manufaktur-Fabrik- und Handarbeiter-Gewerksgenossenschaft" (international manufactury, factory and handicraft trade union) for pregnant and nursing mothers was established in Crimmitschau, Saxony. The cooperative society wanted common organisation of male and female workers. This was possible in this part of the country as they had freedom of association. Hence, men and women were treated equally.[157]

As union activities were limited by law the next step in this trend occurred 1882 when the German state did not prohibit free unions anymore. In the 1880s also women joined these organisations, which were following union aims.[158] Middle-class and socialist women were often working together to improve the organisation of women's workers. Nevertheless, middle-class and socialist movements were taking different roles after a while and socialist women started to take their place in socialist parties and furthermore to join trade unions.[159] However, many males were still against the membership of women. Thus, hard work and power of persuasion was needed to reach, at least in parts, their aims. The predominant socialistic associations, therefore, were sure that movements of female labourers were going to be successful. For that reason solidarity with men was necessary as it was the base to ask for same rights in organisations and the working world. Ida Altman, a trade unionist, worried that different rights and freedoms would separate the working-class. Furthermore, she advocated teamwork between men and women against a "common enemy".[160]

According to Katrina Honeyman the first unions in the cotton industry (from the 1790s onwards) already had included female members. The joint struggle of men and women in the clothing industry was evident from the late eighteenth to the nineteenth century. Especially in London, men and women often went on strike and protest marches together, mostly to improve wages and working conditions. However, already during the first decade of the nineteenth century conflict arose when

[157] Brinker-Gabler, Frau, 1982, pp. 19-29.
[158] Gisla Brinker-Gabler (ed.), Frau und Gewerkschaft, Frankfurt am Main 1982, pp. 19-29.
[159] Losseff-Tillmanns, Frau, 1982, pp. 22-27.
[160] Brinker-Gabler, Frau, 1982, pp. 19-29.

deskilling and slop clothing production threatened artisan superiority and resulted in male strikes specifically attacking the employment of female labour. Nevertheless, women did not stop establishing all-female friendly or benefit societies, especially in the textile regions. The first decade of the nineteenth century was marked by strikes of men against women workers who were used by employers in a range of trades to introduce new machinery and to replace apprenticed and skilled male workers. Their aim was to exclude women completely from their trades. Furthermore, referring to Honeyman, gender divisions at work were often mirrored in the labour movement.[161]

Trade unionism developed during the nineteenth century. Although women had to fight very hard to achieve their aims in trade unions they finally succeeded at the end of the century. Women did not rely anymore just on men, they organised themselves and introduced their own initiatives as for example educational institutions for women.[162]

The gendering of work and union activity which was central to the working-class strategy of self-protection through the nineteenth century was confirmed by a range of ideological constructions. These included the perception of industrial action as masculine. According to Honeyman, industrialisation created a gendered working-class. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the emergence of working-class consciousness in which politics was reserved for men, identified women with the domestic sphere. The trend that male artisans feared female competition during the early decades of the nineteenth century continued with a strong masculine trade unionism and working-class political activity. This process became more intense after the 1850s and probably helped to intensify the adoption of middle-class values – the women at home.[163]

Therefore, the reason why the female trade unionism was not that strong at the beginning at the process of industrialisation might have been caused by a mixture of factors: Men who tried to exclude women from skilled work as they feared for their employment; political regulations; and an increasing desire for the adoption of middle-class value (women are just doing domestic work) as ideal conception.

[161] Honeyman, Women, pp. 115-137.
[162] Losseff-Tillmanns, Frau, pp. 23-29.
[163] Honeyman, Women, pp. 135-137.

5.7. CONCLUSION

After the 1850s, a stereotype was created which represented the domestic sphere as the women's place. The middle of the nineteenth century was characterised by industrial capitalism: fears arose in society about economic instability, political unrest and unprecedented urban growth. According to June Purvis, it was articulated as a crisis of the "family". Since these phenomena increased at this time, the social and political confidence of the middle class and élite in managing industrial and urban problems rose. The middle class family had become the ideal of this time as it represented a moral side of a refuge from the harsh, industrialised world. The family was the vital source of business capital and personnel, of the investment required for professional training and education as well as social contacts and reputation. Middle class women were seen as the centre of the family. They had to manage the family; furthermore, middle and upper class women were described as "angel[s] in the household". They were managing the household, supervising servants, socialising with young children and conveyed the appropriate concept of morality. Laws were introduced to reduce women's work in factories. Protestant religion, law, literature and the discourse of emergent social science all elaborated women's association with a separate private sphere.[164] Working women, however, were put in a negative perspective as they had to manage several jobs. They had to manage the household and additionally perform paid employment to support the family income at the same time.

However, society recognised domestic work as the only appropriate work for women, many other jobs, especially those in mines and factories were extremely afflicted with a negative reputation. This was the moral, political and social ideal conception that women were the guardian of the home. Working women were seen as a symbol of danger. Therefore, they were charged in various ways: for example high mortality of babies and alcohol problems of husbands were two reasons for criticising them. These accusations started to intensify during the nineteenth century. The male breadwinning model became stronger at the same time; therefore, this might be connected to the desired exclusion of females from the world of waged work.

[164] Purvis, Women's history, 1995, pp. 53-55.

Nevertheless, already by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century women started to form alliances or at least participated in trade unions to fight for better working conditions and other such aims. These movements, which probably led to a better representation of women and their rights, were influenced by different events as politics or moral concepts of society. According to Deborah Simonton, contemporary rhetoric reflected the basic right of men to work and no such right for women. On the contrary, women had the duty to the home, and when it was necessary this also included earning money.

Regarding the situation of working-class women, they probably had a harder life than men. Although the situation was tough for both men and women, society was patriarchal and men were seen as the representative of the family to the outside world, moreover as the head of the family. Women, on the other hand, were pushed more and more into the role of the guardian of the household.

Working conditions were harsh for both of them and it was difficult for men to stand up to for a potential competitor on the labour market, to handle problematic working conditions, to earn enough money to support children and a wife. Yet it must have been much harder for women to make their way. The women of the Industrial Revolution were more and more expected to stay at home and care for the family. Females who infringed this moral concept were blamed by society.

Furthermore, working-class women were underrepresented and often not welcomed in trade unions and other organisations. Compared to men, their participation in such organisations widened only very slowly during the nineteenth century. Yet, the movements which fought for the rights of workers represented a first step towards a future with more rights and individual acceptance for workers in general, but especially as a first step for women to fight for their rights.

6. EDUCATION AND HEALTH:
TWO ASPECTS OF WOMEN'S EVERYDAY LIFE

With the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, social commentators drew attention to the social conditions of workers such as ill-health or poverty. These topics were taken up and became long-running debates by two schools of thought: one, pessimistic, which thought industrialisation had negative effects on living standards and every day life, and another, optimistic, which thought the opposite.[165]

According to Charles More, the theories of both optimists and pessimist suffered from the problem that a number of influences were working together and affected everyday life in different ways. Influences such as agricultural change, population growth and urbanisation must have had some consequences. Moreover, these impacts were very complicated and have to be evaluated individually.[166]
Furthermore, the Industrial Revolution was often associated with a special type of society. More pointed out that pessimists described this as a "working-class society" in which the majority of people lived in overcrowded urban areas, were overworked, sometimes unemployed and ill, but always victims. Optimists on the contrary saw more opportunities for regular work, better wages, warmer houses and cheaper clothing and even if conditions were poor in cities and in the countryside by 1850, they became better over the subsequent decades. According to More, from this time positive effects became increasingly visible. For example, improvements in transport made it possible to ease the food supply situation and cities started to care about the hygienic situation of their people and the town itself. It could therefore be said that 1850 is a benchmark date for a visible change in the situation.[167]

However, everyday life was affected by the Industrial Revolution in various ways. This chapter focuses therefore on two aspects: education and health.

Although a variety of educational provisions and institutions existed, just a minority of girls attended formal schools during the nineteenth century. Girls who had the

[165] More, Industrial Revolution, 2000. pp. 138-139.
[166] More, Industrial Revolution, 2000. pp. 138-139.
[167] More, Industrial Revolution, 2000, pp. 167-169.

possibility to attend classes were often educated in different institutions. Anyway, workers embodied human capital in form of skill and knowledge, therefore, better trained, more literate people were supposed to perform their jobs in a better way and helped to increase productivity.[168] But in which way did literacy influence employees during the Industrial Revolution? Was it possible to get a better job due to a better education? How can the situation of females be described and is it possible to notice changes in this context?

The second part of the chapter gives information about the health situation in relation to women. Optimists and pessimist were arguing over whether industrialisation had led to better living circumstances and furthermore to better health and health care or if the situation got worse because of the developments which were taking place.

This chapter intends to describe how various parts and the daily routine in women's lives were influenced by the Industrial Revolution and furthermore how these factors altered and affected women's lives.

[168] More, Industrial Revolution, 2000, pp. 56-59.

6.1. EDUCATION

According to June Purvis, the research about female education during the Industrial Revolution is a complex area of investigation, as most historians offered little original information on this topic and tended to provide just a general synopsis. Nevertheless, the available research suggested that the social circumstances (family, place of residence – town or countryside etc.) a girl was born in, were central issues in her education.[169] Therefore, it should be considered that education was not just about girls in schools or other institutions; education was also conveyed for example at home.

During the Industrial Revolution new types of schools appeared. On the one hand these institutions focused on educating girls and women and on the other hand on supervising children while their mothers had to work.
This chapter elaborates on the subject of availability of educational institutions for working class girls and women and if education provided changes in women's lives. Moreover, it shall be pointed out if education helped improving the working situation and getting a better job.

During industrialisation, the discussion on women and education was not new. The idea of women as educators in their homes, for example, was one of the legacies of the Enlightenment and furthermore altered the idea about education everywhere in Europe. Hence, women as educators of their children gained widespread acceptance. In contrast, the ideas on education, institutions, and curricula were less clear. According to Rachel Fuchs and Victoria Thompson, girls were either educated in the home, in privately run day or boarding schools, or in schools run by religious orders before the nineteenth century. These forms were still used throughout the nineteenth century.[170]

It was already mentioned that the debate on women's education changed with the Enlightenment. In the past, debates focused on whether or not elite women should

[169] June Purvis, Hard lessons. The lives and education of working-class women in nineteenth-century England, Cambridge 1989, p. 71.
[170] Fuchs/Thompson, Women, pp. 84-85.

read the same subjects that men studied. These debates did not focus on access to state run educational institutions, as they did not exist. Enlightenment thinkers argued that education was necessary for all individuals as it would emancipate them from Church, tradition and allow them to make their own decisions. They thought that government had a responsibility to establish schools for their population, which would help them in their everyday lives.[171]

Schooling for working-class girls became more and more common during the nineteenth century; moreover, new types of schools occurred. Nevertheless, research suggested that education was different for girls and boys and for working-class or middle-class children. Middle-class girls for example were primarily educated in familial and domestic settings. Home-based education was undertaken by parents, governesses or both; however, boys were mostly sent to public schools. Working-class children were taught in different educational institutions. These schools were both founded and managed by the working-classes or for example by national religious agencies such as the National Society for Promoting the Education for the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church and the British and Foreign School Society.[172]

Examples of schools were dame and gaffer schools, which were organised by working-class women and men in their own homes. Working mothers brought their children into these schools for supervision. Dame schools did not only provide child-care, but also a basic education. On the contrary gaffer school concentrated much more on teaching how to write. By the late 1830s also girls were allowed to attend these schools. Sunday schools were another possibility for education. During the early nineteenth century more working-class children attended Sunday school than weekday schools. The majority of them were girls. The schools aim was teaching reading, religious instructions, and writing. These instructions were given from about three to five hours every Sunday over an average of four years. Girls who attended these schools often had no other education. These girls, and also girls who attended dame school, had no high level of literacy and often became students of Mechanic's Institutions.[173]

[171] Fuchs/Thompson, Women, pp. 84-85.
[172] Purvis, Hard Lessons, 1989, pp. 71-89.
[173] Purvis, Hard Lessons, 1989, pp. 71-89.

Mechanics' institutes offered a possibility for female adult education. These schools were almost always founded by middle-class men to educate and train working-class men. By the middle of the nineteenth century, about 6,000 women attended such institutes (about 9.4 per cent of the national membership) in Britain. Not only working-class but also middle-class women were attracted by them.[174] Nevertheless, it was quite difficult especially for working-class women to attend such institutions as they also had to perform their jobs and work long hours. Moreover, saving money for an adult class and finding the time and energy for part-time study required much determination and hardship.[175]
However, although women attended these schools during the nineteenth century, the mood was to tolerate them and not to encourage a broader education. Only in specific schools for girls, females were not seen as unusual.[176]

Another type of school which developed during the nineteenth century was the industrial school. Arguing with the bad economic situation, clerics, councillors of the consistory and superintendents asked for industrial education for children in order to support their families. This should avoid that these families needed charity. The industrial education was held additionally to elementary school. Girls were especially trained to work in textile production such as spinning and weaving. Children should get used to work regularly and continuously. This way of education was used until the first half of the nineteenth century. Later on industrial schools were closed as manufactory work was not needed anymore due to the introduction of new technical inventions.[177]

Hence, girls of different classes attended different schools. While many girls and their families argued that education was a preparation for family life, many others increasingly thought that it is necessary for earning a living. Therefore, many middle-class girls for example were educated to become a teacher. Nevertheless, while middle- and upper class women focused on secondary education, education for workers and peasants was just to create better workers and more obedient subjects and citizens. The aim was not to open secondary education to them. Most people

[174] Purvis, Hard Lessons, 1989, pp. 126-127.
[175] Purvis, Hard Lessons, 1989, pp. 93-94, 222-225.
[176] Purvis, Hard Lessons, 1989, pp. 126-127.
[177] Dagmar Ladj-Teichmann, Erziehung zur Weiblichkeit durch Textilarbeit. Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte der Frauenbildung im 19. Jahrhundert, Weinheim und Basel 1983, pp. 69-92.

believed that the daughters of workers and peasants required a much simpler education than those of the middle and upper classes. But after 1850 the interest in education for lower classes rose. The impetus behind this expansion of education was to create a moral, hard-working, and obedient working-class. Schools began to multiply after the revolutions of 1848 as the demands for greater rights made by working-class men and women had frightened parts of the middle-class. Yet, working women on the countryside had fewer options than women in the cities.[178]

According to David Mitch, schools were subsidised in part to redistribute wealth by lowering the fees charged to working-class parents for their children to attend school. Elites wanted to control the religious and moral content of what was taught. Over the course of the nineteenth century, efficient instruction in literacy skills did assume increasing priority. The following table should give an overview about the illiteracy of males and females in Europe c. 1860 to get an impression about the prevailing conditions.[179]

Country	**Percentage illiterate**	
	female	**male**
Austro-Hungarian Empire		85[180]
Spain	90	70
Belgium	55	40
France	45	35
England	37	30
Netherlands	27	18
Prussia	5	5

Source: Graff 1987, Vincent 2000. (see page 99) Table 4

According to David Mitch, literacy did not only have influence on individuals, but also affected the whole economy of a country in a certain way. Therefore, examples of

[178] Fuchs/Thompson, Women, 2005, pp. 84-97.
[179] David Mitch, Education and skill of the British labour force, in: Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson (eds.), The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain. Volume I, Industrialisation, 1700-1860, Cambridge 2004, p. 351.
[180] Other sources like Helmut Engelbrecht: Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens. Von 1848 bis zum Ende der Monarchie, Wien 1986, quote different figures for the countries of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but give no general value. However, these figures are on average lower than 85 per cent.

male working-class members can be found in Great Britain, in which literacy raised earnings and furthermore influenced economic growth. While literacy had just little influence on general individual earnings and on national income in Britain between 1780 and 1830, between 1870 and 1921 *the increases in average years of schooling has been estimated as from 4.2 to 7.4 with a correspondingly larger contribution to economic growth.* During this period the state started to contribute more and more money into primary education.[181]

However, in reference to More, the failure to spend more on education can be seen as a market failure. He thinks the free market was not able to ensure an efficient allocation of resources relating to education. More pointed out that with an increasing income of parents also literacy rates improved rapidly as they were able to support their children.[182] This impact might also be seen as an improvement for women. Although figures are just relating to the male work force, it can be assumed that also women could profit from the increasing interest by the state in education.

To sum up, during the nineteenth century there was a variety of educational provisions[183] and a growing level of schooling institutions opened their doors for working-class girls.[184] Though, just a minority attended formal schools, many girls also received their education through informal channels.[185] According to Purvis, boys and girls did not get the same education. Not only the gender of working-class children, but also their social class background helped determine the kind of schooling they should get. Working-class girls often just attended elementary schools and were taught how to become good workers and diligent wives and mothers.[186]

Patricia Branca argues that education was related to better job opportunities for women. Furthermore, working-class girls who enjoyed better education were supposed to find jobs as sales or office clerks.[187] However, it is more likely that education had a more pronounced impact on middle-class women. Therefore,

[181] David Mitch, Education and skill of the British labour force, in: Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson (eds.), The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain. Volume I, Industrialisation, 1700-1860, Cambridge 2004, pp. 351-353.
[182] More, Industrial Revolution, 2000, pp. 58-61.
[183] Purvis, Hard Lessons, 1989, pp. 93-94, 222-225.
[184] Fuchs/Thompson, Women, 2005, p. 100.
[185] Fuchs/Thompson, Women, 2005, p. 100.
[186] Purvis, Hard Lessons, 1989, pp. 93-94, pp. 222-225.
[187] Patricia Brance, Women in Europe since 1750, London 1978, pp. 176-177.

respectable work outside the home was available for those of them, who had the possibility to attend school and get a comprehensive education.[188]
Consequently, the connection between education and getting a better job can be seen in this case in the increased number of unmarried middle-class women by 1850. Moreover, adult women outnumbered men in population and the need for better education and training was necessary if the women wanted to get respectable employment.[189]

In reference to Fuchs and Thompson, education did not change the everyday life situation of working-class girls considerably. Literacy was not a need for doing their jobs. According to More, just a minority of people had to be literate to perform their work. Factory workers developed their skills mainly by training on-the-job and by experience; it would have been difficult to transmit this knowledge on paper.
Great Britain for example had a high level of literacy. However, most countries in Western Europe had reached rather high levels, so *Britain's relatively high literacy rate was unlikely to have been a significant influence on the broad thrust of industrialisation*.[190]

[188] Brance, Women, 1978, pp. 176-177.
[189] Hudson, Women's history, 1995, pp. 107-109.
[190] More, Industrial Revolution, 2000, p. 58.

6.2. HEALTH

The influence of the Industrial Revolution on living circumstances of the population has been discussed in various ways. In this support, industrialisation was closely linked with urbanisation, as manufacturing increasingly clustered in towns. It was often held to account for the pollution and hygienic conditions in the cities. These facts were frequently used by pessimists to explain health problems of the time. Also other factors of the Industrial Revolution such as dangerous working circumstances, the mortality of infants and small children, new emerging diseases and so on were seen as main factors for ill health. By contrast, optimists saw the new opportunities which occurred for the population due to industrialisation (heated houses, warm clothes etc.) as a positive development and improvement for health standards in the long run.[191]

This chapter summarises how the Industrial Revolution altered the health situation of women. It tries to estimate whether the circumstances got better or worse and which consequences arose due to the new social movements.

6.2.1. Illnesses and their causes

During the Industrial Revolution women were affected by various health problems. To some extent, these problems were already well-known. On the other hand many of them occurred in relation with this period of time. Thus, as already mentioned, industrialisation was linked to urbanisation. As a result the growth of cities caused various consequences relating to health. According to Pat Hudson, one major impact of towns was a high rate of mortality, particular by infant mortality.[192]

With reference to Hans-Joachim Voth, housing conditions in Britain, for example, were bad. Crowding, unsanitary, disease-ridden conditions, and difficult access to fresh water and food, as well as a lack of immunity from infectious diseases for many of the workers, drove mortality rates up. Therefore, especially the problem of fresh

[191] More, Industrial Revolution, 2000, pp. 138-157.
[192] Hudson, Industrial Revolution, 1992, pp. 155-156.

water access caused diseases like cholera which claimed lives.[193] In addition, poor living conditions among working-class women increased the risks during pregnancy and childbirth.[194] In particular, repeated pregnancies were as dangerous as spreading diseases.[195] Especially urban filth increased risks of childbirth and bad nutrition lowered resistance to post-partum infections.[196] These developments were enforced when a very large proportion of population started to move into cities over a short period of time.[197]

Also the new working conditions which occurred as a result of the Industrial Revolution caused health problems. Textile production for example required a warm, damp atmosphere and women often worked half-clothed in front of these machines. In winter they also went out into the cold insufficiently dressed and the resistance to diseases was low.[198] Furthermore, the work rhythm was dictated by machines and employees often suffered form insufficient safety arrangements.[199]
Moreover, workers of both sexes' were often victims of industrial accidents affecting limbs and fingers. For women, their long hair and their breasts could easily get caught in machinery. Dust from textile production caused damages to skin and internal organs. Nearly every occupation was detrimental to health. The Industrial Revolution also changed the working-class diet. Malnutrition was a common problem and caused general problems for the working population. From a lack of vitamin D, especially women were affected by rickets. This caused deformed pelvises, which meant that problems in childbirth occurred. Also chest cavities, which increased the risk of tuberculosis and other chest ailments, were noticed.[200]

6.2.2. Procedures for better public health

In 1834 the New Poor Law was established in London and changed the social policy in nineteenth century Britain fundamentally. This law should help to deal with the high

[193] Floud, Living standards, 2004, pp. 283-285.
[194] Purvis, Women's history, 1995, pp. 58-59.
[195] Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham and Robert Jütte (eds.), Health Care and Poor Relief in eighteenth and nineteenth century Northern Europe, Cornwall 2002, pp. 220-231.
[196] Smith, Changing Lives, 1989, pp. 159-162.
[197] Floud, Living standards, 2004, pp. 283-285.
[198] Smith, Changing Lives. 1989, pp. 159-162.
[199] http://www.bmas.de/coremedia/generator/406/property=pdf/ausstellungen__industrielle__revolution__und__arbeiterbewegung__1848.pdf accessed on 16th of March 2009.
[200] Smith, Changing Lives, 1989, pp. 159-162.

costs of poor relief and the growing problem with outdoor pauperism. The urban working-class society was affected by the risk of sinking into poverty as a result of ill-health. During the mid-nineteenth century in London, one third of applications of private charity and a proportion of poor relief may have been the result of sickness or death of the main wage-earner. The medical attention for the working-class also depended on individual circumstances and the nature of the problem. Private philanthropy frequently provided medical help for the working-class. Hospitals could also be found at this time, but they were unevenly distributed in relation to population. The principle hospitals were located in the centres. In general hospitals, pregnant women did not get medical treatment. Especially women, children and the elderly were nearly ignored in larger hospitals, nevertheless, the Poor law provided alternatives. It offered the main source of medical relief for large numbers of the working-class. For women, medical treatment under the Poor Law meant especially assistance in childbirth. Although the proportion of births in London under the Poor Law was small, outdoor relief and midwifery were important.[201]

According to June Purvis, mainly characteristics of frailty and physical weakness were problematic for working-class women. By the end of the nineteenth century an official concern about the effects of working conditions on women's health was evident. However, proposals generally favoured restrictions on married women's work, ignoring the fact that poor conditions did not discriminate between single and married, or that pre-natal health would be implicated in the future health of mothers and children. According to Purvis this attention to married women occurred because their primary responsibility should have been the family. But it can also be seen as a strategy to maintain men's economic and labour market dominance. However, politicians, doctors, activists and reformers also recognised that the income from paid work for many women was necessary to contribute to the family income. Factory legislation did circumscribe some areas of women's industrial work by gender-specific regulations, especially in the "dangerous trades", where women were often considered to be more susceptible to the effects of industrial poisons. Nevertheless, it was also significant that the many other damaging aspects of working conditions

[201]Grell/Cunningham/Jütte, Health Care, 2002, pp. 220-231.

received relatively little attention, consistent with preventive strategies that targeted individuals rather than social factors.[202]

6.2.3. Consequences

The Industrial Revolution affected women in their working and everyday life. There were new threats such as insufficient safety measures at new introduced machines and diseases which spread due to bad social conditions. Although new laws were introduced to support the poor and also philanthropists tried to help the socially disadvantaged, the situation remained alarming. There was no social net of benefits that helped injured and disabled people; this aid was just introduced at the end of the nineteenth century.

The state was not able to support the population properly with health care. However, during the eighteenth century, life expectancy at birth rose, but after the 1820s mortality increased again. This could have been caused by the effect of the unhealthy urban and industrial environments which grew in the course of industrialisation. According to Simon Szreter,[203] health care improvements needed collective political decisions. He emphasises the spread of by municipally provided infrastructure, e.g. water supply, and mentioned their great impact in the final third of the nineteenth century.[204]

However according to Voth, the standard of living debate has remained active for such a long time as neither side could marshal evidence of a marked and important shift. Most research findings since 1980 have lent support to pessimistic views. Quite often only the desperate conditions were described, which led to infant mortality and a spread of diseases. Life in general however, became even better for the working classes by the 1820s and 1830s than it was before. From the 1850s, wages were beginning to pull ahead of prices and life expectancy increased. Working hours became shorter and new safety regulations for machines came into being, furthermore, standards began to increase which encouraged better nutrition. Although none of these factors can answer the question of what would have

[202] Purvis, Women's history, 1995, pp. 157-162.
[203] Quoted in de Vries, Industrious Revolution, 2000, pp. 190-195.
[204] De Vries, Industrious Revolution, 2000, pp. 190-195.

happened to living standards and therefore public health without Industrial Revolution[205], but in the long run industrialisation probably improved the general situation due to the new opportunities, new technologies and a new awareness' for the need to reform the existing situation e.g. the hygienic situation in towns.

6.3. CONCLUSION

In order to explain the influence of the Industrial Revolution on women's everyday life and living circumstances it is important to consider the fact that these topics were discussed in different ways. The problem of interpreting the effects of industrialisation is down to the fact that different influences, such as agricultural change, population growth etc. must have had various impact. Therefore, interpreting data poses a constant challenge.

The chapter "everyday life" has focused on the topics education and health. These were influenced by industrialisation in various ways. Different educational institutions appeared especially during the nineteenth century and opened their doors not only for boys but also increasingly for girls. These schools had different functions: teaching school subjects, preparing for the job in industry or at home and supervision. Hence, the question was raised which possibilities these new educational opportunities offered for girls and which consequences appeared for females who attended schools.[206]

Historians like Patricia Brance were sure that education was related to better job opportunities for women. She thought that working-class girls who enjoyed better education could find better jobs for example as office clerks.[207] This opinion is not always shared, especially in connection with working-class girls. Middle-class women, however, were more likely to find a better job due to better education. This can also be seen in the increased number of unmarried middle-class women by 1850.[208]

[205] Floud, Living standards, 2004, pp. 293-294.
[206] Hudson, Women's history, 1995, pp. 107-109.
[207] Brance, Women, 1978, pp. 176-177.
[208] Hudson, Women's history, 1995, pp. 107-109.

Anyway, following Fuchs and Thompson, education did not change life of working-class girls considerably as literacy was not a need for doing their jobs. Factory workers and also domestic servants or housewives developed their skills mainly by training on-the-job and experience; it would have been difficult to transmit this knowledge on paper. Although education broke new grounds during the Industrial Revolution, and more and more girls became literate especially during the nineteenth century, it was not likely for working-class females to get a better job just because of better education as not so many literate employees were needed. So, educational institutions had limited efforts for working-class women in the short run.

The second aspect which has been discussed is the impact of the Industrial Revolution on the health of females. Therefore, different developments can be recognised. One factor which can be mentioned was the growing population in cities. This was amongst other things caused by a bigger offer of workplaces. Thus, people moved into cities to get work. Especially bad living conditions caused diseases and other illnesses. Also child birth created problems for females as it was dangerous to give birth to a baby as well as bad nutrition lowered resistance to post-partum infections. Additionally the new working conditions created health problems. Insufficient working clothes and safety arrangements for machines caused injuries. Dust from textile and production caused damages to skin and internal organs. Also malnutrition affected women. In order to solve these problems state legislation enacted laws to support the poor and moreover supported health care by founding hospitals. Moreover, private philanthropy provided frequently medical help for the working-class.[209]

Regarding the effects on women's lives, most research on the Industrial Revolution supported pessimistic views. By the 1850s, wages were beginning to pull ahead of prices and life expectancy was increased. Working hours became shorter than they had been in the decades before and heights began to increase.[210] Furthermore, hygienic circumstances and the need to care and improve about them came into the awareness of state and population. Although the material trends to strengthen the point that public health did not improve during the Industrial Revolution[211], it probably

[209] Floud, Living standards, 2004, pp. 293-294.
[210] Floud, Living standards, 2004, pp. 293-294.
[211] Floud, Living standards, 2004, pp. 293-294.

can be assumed that over a long time positive aspects could be recognised and improvements emerged.

7. CONCLUSION

The impact of the Industrial Revolution on women's lives can be described in various ways. Although this topic has been discussed in research, there are still new ideas on how to cover the subject. These result from the fact that so many different influences affected women's lives during this period. These impacts led to a variety of consequences which in turn created new points of view and theories. Hence, the central debate is still an open one, e.g. the discussion if the Industrial Revolution led to an improvement or a decline of living circumstances for women.

The variety of conclusions which can be drawn due to so many different influences affecting women's lives probably constituted one reason why this topic has not been exhausted thus far. This motivation also was the main reason for dealing with the subject in this thesis. Another attempt was to use latest literature to draw a tentative conclusion.

This asked the question of the different consequences for women and work during this period. It was established that many aspects of women's lives were affected by the Industrial Revolution. Different questions underline this hypothesis of the widespread impact:
How was women's work and life, especially of working-class women, affected by the Industrial Revolution? Which changes occurred and how did they set in - suddenly or in a long term process? Did the possibility to earn money provide a new independence for women or was it just a contribution to family income? Furthermore: What did "society" think about the changes due to the Industrial Revolution and women's work – did they agree with the alterations or what was the point of view in this context? How could the changes and impact of the Industrial Revolution on women's work be recognised in other fields like health care and education?

In order to discuss the impact of the Industrial Revolution on women's work, a few preconditions of this period should be mentioned to give a comprehensive answer to the questions and especially to highlight the contrast and development between the proto-industrial and industrial period.

The term proto-industry was coined during the 1970s and put at the centre of a “theory of proto-industrialisation” by Franklin Mendels. The period was explained and interpreted by different historians. Kriedte, Medick and Schlumbohm, for example, described the period as an industrialisation before industrialisation. Jan de Vries was talking about a period when more and more goods were produced for an expanding market, therefore, new jobs were offered. He described the basic patterns of women’s work as unaltered, but highlighted the fact that over time new opportunities arose in some sectors and increased women’s rates of labour force participation. Commercial work was performed quite often within the household. These changes had often been an opportunity to raise family income and provide the family with the possibility to buy consumer goods.

However, these developments show that even before the industrial period, alterations in women’s work were occurring. The Industrial Revolution was described by historians in different ways. Charles More summed up these interpretations: on the one hand industrialisation was seen as a continuation of earlier change, rooted in the past, on the other hand it was constituted as a complete shift in the process of economic growth. According to More, the Industrial Revolution implies not only the absolute growth of industry, but also a relation to other sectors of the economy. Louise Miskell, for example, described the application of new technology and a concentration of workers in factories, as well as the separation of working and living areas and the introduction of working and leisure time, as characteristics of Industrial Revolution.

It is in any case pertinent to highlight that work was not a new concept for women. They have always participated, either in labour markets or in commercial or in household production. In reference to Pat Hudson and W. R. Lee, the impact of the Industrial Revolution on women’s work differed significantly. Apart from different life-cycle variations, the local and regional structure of production was crucial in influencing gender-specific economic roles. Therefore, it is important to consider not only the labour process itself, but also particular industries and the highly diverse regional phenomenon of industrialisation.

Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott thought that industrialisation involved the movement of labour and resources away from primary production toward manufacturing and commercial and service activities. This new concentration of a large number of people working together also included a considerable number of women working and therefore supporting their family with money. Although textile factories in particular created jobs for women, lots of other sectors also employed female workers. To make a contribution to the family income was a very important factor for women in taking employment up. Already young girls had to start working for this reason. They supported the family as soon as they were able to. During the nineteenth century the decline of many artisan industries deprived daughters in particular from the role of household-based family production and sent them into the labour market. Scott and Tilly added that working girls did not only support their families, they also had an influence on the allocation of family resources since their wages were a part of those.

Although this newly created working system forced them to earn money for the family it also provided a potential for a form of “new independence”. Young women had more often than before the chance to leave home and live their own lives for the first time. The situation of married women differed from that of young and single girls. The combination of factory and domestic work was quite difficult. Hence, married women working in factories represented only a small proportion of all female workers. They often performed jobs, which were temporary and episodic. Full-time work was most of time limited to the years before marriage and in the first years before children were born. Nevertheless, husbands’ low income often made it necessary for wives to work.

The participation of women in the labour market was often a problem for society as they challenged patriarchal power and the growing idea of the middle-class woman as an ideal for working-class women just supported these discussions.

According to Rachel Fuchs, in western European industrial capitalist societies discussions about work were dominated by the ideal of a family wage and a male breadwinner model, wherein the husband entered the labour market and contributed his wage to support the family. By the second half of the nineteenth century the idea of women who stayed at home and did not work outside the domestic sphere and did

not compete with men for wages in the labour market became more and more famous. Cooking, laundry, cleaning and childbearing constituted female's unpaid domestic labour. Women were supposed to stay at home and take care of the daily running of the household while her husband went out and made the money.

However, Fuchs pointed out that if the family needed money children had to go out and work in factories, as this did not damage men's pride as much as their wives' work outside their home did. Nevertheless, these developments devalued not only women but also children. Politicians and social reformers idealised a working-class conjugal family as they wanted to uphold them as a safeguard against the prospect of moral and social disintegration. Middle-class reformers argued that factory work involving women's wage employment and furthermore a mixture of the sexes in the workplace had a harmful effect on working-class families, on their morality, their hygienic conditions, and on the well-being of their children. Furthermore, women's employment for a wage was linked to the idea that men would riot, go on strike or go out to drink and furthermore, children would roam the streets in gangs and their daughters would not learn to keep a house properly. The patriarchal family was the institution to maintain the moral and social order. However, for working-class families who depended on the wages of all family members this concept was not that relevant.[212]

Nevertheless, after the 1850s a stereotype was created which banned women into private sphere at home. The middle of the nineteenth century was characterised by industrial capitalism: fears of society about economic instability, political unrest and unprecedented urban growth. June Purvis described this period of time as very difficult for the family. When this phenomenon was increasing the social and political confidence of the middle-classes and elites in managing industrial and urban problems rose. The middle-class family had become the moral side of a refuge from the harsh, industrialised world. Middle-class women were seen as the centre of the family and described as "the angel of the household". Working-class women, however, were put in a negative perspective, as they had to manage several jobs. Society characterised predominantly domestic work as appropriate for women. Many other jobs, especially those in mines and factories, were extremely afflicted with a

[212] Rachel G. Fuchs, Gender and Poverty in Nineteenth-Century Europe, New York 2005, pp. 110-112.

negative reputation as they represented the contrary of this opinion. Discussions on womanhood were common during the nineteenth century.

Not only in political, religious and scientific writings but also in art and literature, gender was a central topic. The independent lifestyle of factory girls, their sexual morality and prostitution were topics which were often discussed during this period of time. Also the double burden of married women provoked many discussions. Women's employment was often related to negative influences on the family as for example a high infant mortality rate. Nevertheless, the need for women to work to uphold the living standard of the family was recognised by politicians, medical practitioners and social reformers. Thus, they started to argue for higher incomes for husbands, and were expecting that if husbands would earn more, women would not have to work outside home in inappropriate jobs anymore. The success of these efforts can be seen in an increase of the male breadwinner model and a push back of women in the domestic sphere.

One way for women to fight for their rights, especially in work, and to advance their views were trade unions. Trade unionism developed during the nineteenth century. However, female trade unionism was not that strong at the beginning of this process. This might have been caused by the fact that men tried to exclude women from skilled work as they feared for their own employment, political regulations and an increasing desire for the adoption of middle-class value as an ideal conception. Nevertheless, the participation of women in trade unions and other associations led to a better representation of females. Although the situation of women workers was difficult and the alteration took place very slowly it can be seen as a first step towards a future with more rights and individual acceptance for women.

Hence, the role models which existed during the Industrial Revolution influenced women's lives in different ways. The new emerging jobs led to different opinions in society. Work was often seen as inappropriate and young girls and women were blamed for working in factories or mines – they were supposed to be geared to the middle-class women.

In addition to “income” and “role models” also “everyday life” represented a criterion which altered women’s lives. Education, for example, is an important factor which caused changes. During the nineteenth century, a variety of educational institutions for working-class girls came into being, however, just a minority attended formal schools. Working-class girls were taught how to be good workers as well as competent wives and mothers. Also adult education provided a possibility for women to receive education. However, working-class girls predominantly just attended elementary schools.
According to Patricia Branca, education was related to better jobs for women. Better educated working-class girls found jobs as sales or office clerks. Nevertheless, education had a more pronounced impact on middle-class women; respectable work outside the home was available for middle-class women from families of certain economic and social standing. Schools did not only provide a possibility for better education and getting a better job, schools were also organised to supervise children. However, education can be mentioned as an important factor for women’s working world. Schools provided employment for teachers, education for girls; additionally, it was at least a chance for getting a better job and also offered supervision and childcare for children whose mothers were working.

Due to the Industrial Revolution also the situation relating to health care changed. The bigger supply of jobs in cities, for example, made many people to move into towns. This created a worsening of the hygienic situation because of more filth, pollution and so on and these developments caused in turn the spread of diseases. Especially women were prone to suffer from diseases when they were pregnant or when they just have given birth to a baby. Another problem was represented by new machine inventions which caused a greater number of accidents.
Although new laws were introduced to support the poor and philanthropist tried to help the socially disadvantaged persons, the situation was quite tough.

To sum up, the Industrial Revolution had a variety of impacts on women’s work.
The Industrial Revolution affected the lives of women as well as those of children and men, these changes involved changing ideas of gender as well as class. It influenced consumption and commerce as much as industry, leisure as much as work, and it

involved shifts in motivations, aspirations, ideologies and aesthetics as well as changes in the labour process and in relation to production.[213]
These developments occurred in processes and also affected women step by step.
This thesis showed many alterations which occurred during the Industrial Revolution and had an impact on women's lives.[214]

In my point of view it is not possible to draw a general conclusion, it is just possible to present different parts of women's lives, regarding women's living circumstances (marital status, society, family etc.) and try to show the impact of the Industrial Revolution on their lives in this way.

However, many smaller, but also larger processes are still uncovered and make it an extremely interesting task to carry out further research on this period.[215]

[213] Pat Hudson, Industrial Revolution, 1998, p. 238.
[214] Pat Hudson, Industrial Revolution, 1998, p. 238.
[215] Pat Hudson, Industrial Revolution, 1998, p. 238.

8. ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Diplomarbeit “The impact of the Industrial Revolution on women’s lives” beschäftigt sich mit dem Einfluss der Industriellen Revolution auf die Lebenswelt der Frau.

Die Arbeit konzentriert sich eingangs auf die Umstände der proto-industriellen Zeit. Dies soll einen Überblick der vorherrschenden Bedingungen geben und einen Bogen zu der Periode spannen, die im Fokus dieser Arbeit steht.

Die Diplomarbeit wurde in verschiedene Teilbereiche aufgegliedert. Der erste Bereich nähert sich dem Thema indem er versucht den Zeitabschnitt der Industriellen Revolution zu bestimmen und zu erklären sowie die bestehenden Arbeitsbedingungen zu beschreiben. Der folgende Abschnitt konzentriert sich auf die Frage, ob die durch die Industrialisierung neu entstandenen Arbeitsfelder für Frauen und das damit verbundene Einkommen diesen einen Weg in eine neue Unabhängigkeit ermöglichten, oder ob die zusätzlichen Einnahmen lediglich einen Beitrag zum Familieneinkommen darstellten. Des Weiteren wird die Frage nach dem Idealbild der Frau gestellt. Es lässt sich feststellen, dass die „Frau der Mittelklasse“ (zumindest nach Meinung eines Teils der Bevölkerung) diesem sehr nahe kam. Die Frau wurde als Hüterin der Moral und als guter Geist des Hauses gesehen. Sie sollte sich um Heim und Familie kümmern und diese Position möglichst öffentlichkeitsfern vollziehen. Die arbeitende Frau, v.a. die arbeitende Frau in vermeintlich unangemessen Umfeld wie z.B. in einer Fabrik oder einer Mine, wurde von der Gesellschaft verurteilt.

Der letzte Teil der Arbeit widmet sich zwei Aspekten des weiblichen Alltagslebens: Bildung und Gesundheitswesen. Der Bereich der Bildung veränderte sich stark während der Industriellen Revolution. Neue Schulformen entstanden, die Schulpflicht wurde in vielen europäischen Ländern eingeführt, und der Zugang zur Ausbildung wurde auch Mädchen gewährt bzw. erleichtert. Diese Entwicklungen besagen jedoch nicht automatisch, dass die gesamte weibliche Bevölkerung diese neuen

Möglichkeiten nutzen konnte bzw. ob diese Chance ein Sprungbrett für eine „bessere“ Zukunft darstellte.
Der Bereich des Gesundheitswesens beschreibt die neu auftretenden Gefahren, die durch die Industrialisierung entstanden (z.B. Verletzungsgefahr durch neue Maschinen) und wie die Gesellschaft und insbesondere die Frauenwelt auf diese Risken reagierten.

Die Auswertung und Beurteilung der Unterlagen stellte sich als sehr schwieriges Unterfangen heraus. Das Problem liegt darin, dass die Einflüsse auf die Lebenswelt der Frau sehr unterschiedlich waren und diese auch sehr individuell betrachtet werden müssen. Weiters tat sich die teilweise unvollständige Quellenlage als Erschwernis hervor. In Volkszählungen beispielsweise konnten die Ergebnisse häufig nicht bedenkenlos verwendet werden, da oft nur der männliche Haushaltsvorstand berücksichtigt wurde. Diese auftretende Barriere verkomplizierte die Auswertung der Unterlagen.

Dennoch kann der Einfluss der Industriellen Revolution auf das Leben der Frauen in verschiedensten Bereichen beobachtet werden. Die Auswirkungen können allerdings nicht als linearer Prozess beschrieben werden. Diese Effekte fanden vielmehr im Verlauf der Zeit statt, betrafen die Frauenwelt unterschiedlich stark oder schwach (immer unter Berücksichtigung der vorherrschenden Lebensumstände) und führten dazu, dass man in der wissenschaftlichen Welt zu zahllosen Schlüssen und Interpretationen kam und vermutlich auch in Zukunft kommen wird.

9. APPENDIX

9.1. CURRICULUM VITAE

Persönliche Daten

Name:	Sigrid Raminger
Geburtsdatum:	22.05.1981
Geburtsort:	Graz
Staatsangehörigkeit:	Österreich

Schulbildung/Studium

10/2004 - 09/2009	Diplomstudium der Geschichte Universität Wien Abschluss des ersten Studienabschnitts mit Ausgezeichnetem Erfolg, Leistungsstipendium der Universität Wien für den Studienerfolg im ersten Studienabschnitt
Thema der Diplomarbeit:	„The impact of the Industrial Revolution on women's lives"
06/2000	Reife- und Diplomprüfung
1995 - 2000	Handelsakademie Weiz, 8160 Weiz

Beruflicher Werdegang

11/2008 – 08/2009	Freier Dienstnehmer Raiffeisen Zentralbank Österreich AG, 1030 Wien
07/2006, 08/2007, 08/2008	Ferialpraktikum Raiffeisen Zentralbank Österreich AG, 1030 Wien
08/2006	Ferialpraktikum Raiffeisenbank Gleisdorf, 8200 Gleisdorf
07/2000 – 10/2004	Kundenbetreuerin Raiffeisenbank Gleisdorf, 8200 Gleisdorf

Auslandserfahrung

09/2007 – 06/2008	Studium am Department of History University of Wales, Swansea

Sprachkenntnisse

Deutsch:	Muttersprache
Englisch:	Kenntnisse auf Verhandlungsniveau
Französisch:	Maturaniveau
Italienisch:	Grundkenntnisse

Zusatzqualifikationen

03 – 06/2009	Italienisch Sprachkurs, Level 1 Sprachenzentrum der Universität Wien
08/2008	Mithilfe bei der Gestaltung des Raiffeisen-Beitrages anlässlich der Sonderausstellung „Unternehmen in Österreich 1918-2008“ (Ausstellung im Haus der Industrie, Wien)
16. – 31.03/2006	Mitwirken beim Ausstellungsprojekt mit Landkarten, Stadtplänen und topographischen Ansichten: Das Werden einer Weltstadt - Wien im 19. Jahrhundert (Ausstellung im Palais Epstein, Wien)
EDV-Kenntnisse:	ECDL-Computerführerschein, Microsoft Office

Interessen/Hobbys

Lesen, Reisen, Schwimmen, Skifahren, Tennis, Freunde und Familie

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10.2. TABLE OF FIGURES